



THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH
IN TIMES OF TRIAL:

A CHARGE TO THE CLERGY
OF THE ARCHDEACONRY OF LEWES,

DELIVERED AT THE ORDINARY VISITATION IN 1848;

WITH NOTES,
ESPECIALLY ON THE CONTROVERSY TOUCHING THE MANAGEMENT OF SCHOOLS,
AND ON THE JEWISH QUESTION,

BY JULIUS CHARLES HARE, M.A.

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TO THE CLERGY
OF THE ARCHDEACONRY OF LEWES.

MY DEAR BRETHERN,

ACCORDING to common rule, the publication of this Charge ought to follow that of its predecessors; and unhappily I am already three-deep in your debt. But, as the subjects treated of in this are of immediate practical interest, you express a wish at the Visitation, that it should not be kept back till a period, which you seemed to think almost as indeterminate and distant as the Greek Calends. You said, it ought to come out now, while the controversies, on which it speaks, and which it attempts to clear up and allay, are going on. With this your wish I have felt bound to comply, adding some Notes, where it seemed desirable to enter more fully into the argument on certain points of detail, than was practicable in the Charge. In this breach of order, I am only falling in with the fashion of the year, in which, in so many unforeseen, unheard-of ways, the last has become first; in which too it has been exemplified, how that inversion of earthly order, which, we are told, will often have place in

the Kingdom of Heaven, is the common practice in the Anarchy of Hell. To England, I have been led to remark in the Charge, and to the English Church, has been vouchsafed in divers respects an honorable precedence among nations. Let us bear in mind, that, while we all share in the honour and the responsibility of this precedence, ours will be the guilt and the shame and the condemnation, if she forfeits it and becomes last; and may God enable us to perform our part in upholding and preserving it! As the best means toward this end, let it be our continual aim to speak and to do the truth in love, in that love which delivers us from all false fear of man, as well as from every other temptation, and which strengthens us to speak and to act boldly, as in the presence of God. In this spirit I have desired to speak to you. You have requested to have my words in a more lasting form. To you then they are dedicated. Accept and adopt whatever may be good in them; reject whatever is evil; and may we be enabled, in all our intercourse with each other, to speak and to hear the truth more and more in the spirit of love!

Your affectionate Brother,

JULIUS CHARLES HARE.

HERSTMONCEUX,

November 17th, 1848.

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THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH

IN TIMES OF TRIAL.

MY REVEREND BRETHERN,

IF on some former occasions I have been almost opprest with the consciousness of the solemn responsibility lying upon those who are called to speak of the duties and prospects of the Church in these momentous times, what must be my feelings now? What are your feelings, my Brethren, when you reflect on the events of the last eight months? what have they been? if indeed you have ever found quiet leisure for gathering your thoughts to reflect on them,—if the press and throng and crash, with which they have succeeded one another, have not so swept you along and stunned you, as well-nigh to stifle the power of reflexion. For with such rapidity have they come forward one after another, so quick and sudden and complete have been their transformations, it has almost seemed as though, while our movements through space and our modes of communication have been so marvellously accelerated by the inventions of the last twenty years, a similar acceleration had been whirling the destinies of nations, and the whole course of the world along; so that, before we can adequately combine and arrange the various features of one prospect, it has changed into another, and again into

another. Nay, has not the history of Europe during these last months been like a grand display of fireworks, in which one gorgeous or portentous form after another has glared and blazed for a moment before the eye, with alternations ever and anon of darkness, each form vanishing ere the eye itself could discern its ill-defined outlines? It is not to be wondered at, that at such a time, when the pulse of the world is beating so much more rapidly than usual, many have foreboded that its dissolution must be drawing nigh. To reflect however on the events of time, to view them in their relation to eternity, to trace, so far as we can trace, the purposes of God in them, to ponder in what way they are designed to minister to the increase of His Son's Kingdom, in what way we are to deal with them, what particular truths they are meant to teach us, what new duties they impose on us,—this is the special task of those who are appointed to exercise any part of the prophetic office in the Church. Therefore, as we are here assembled today, on this little isthmus between the past and the future, with the waves indeed dashing tumultuously on all sides, yet having gained a resting-place for a moment, from which to look back on all we have lately been going through, in order that we may try, with God's help, to ascertain what are the peculiar obligations at this moment lying upon us, what the snares and temptations most likely to lead us astray, what therefore we have chiefly to guard and strive against, I trust, my Brethren, you will bear with me, while I endeavour to speak to you with freedom and frankness, and at the same time with an earnest, affectionate desire for the welfare of every one of you, and of the

whole Church, on the weighty, pressing, awful questions, which the events of the last year bring before our thoughts.

Even the questions belonging to the peculiar sphere of our Church, which have been started by the occurrences of the last year, have been more numerous and important than in ordinary years, and have excited an unwonted agitation throughout the land, an agitation very disproportionate to their real moment, and which has betokened the inflammable state of men's minds. During the last four months however, the interest of these questions, great as it was, has been thrown into the background by the convulsions which have followed one another like the shocks of an earthquake, and have been changing the whole political and social condition of Europe. The reverberation of these shocks has already been felt, and may not improbably be felt still more, unless God vouchsafes to protect us, in England also: and though in common times it may not be advisable on this occasion to mix up political matters with those more properly pertaining to our official duties, it seems scarcely possible today to turn entirely aside from those momentous questions which are agitating every thoughtful heart throughout Europe. Even the heathen poet was able to discern that it is the province and duty of man *humani nihil a se alienum putare*, to feel an interest in everything that touches the hearts or affects the wellbeing of his fellows: and how much more deeply and vividly is this duty of sympathy with all the cares and wants and distresses of our fellow-creatures inprest on us by the obligations of Christian brotherhood! Moreover, while the events of every

succeeding day are shewing us more forcibly than ever, that no earthly power, no earthly skill can avail to heal the diseases and wounds of humanity, we know that for them also there is a remedy, if we can but bring it forth, and if men can be persuaded to receive it, in that Gospel which has the promise of this world, as well as of the world to come.

The first event of importance to the Church, which occurred after our last Visitation, was the Meeting of Convocation. These Meetings have acquired rather more significance of late years, than they possess during the previous century. In proportion as the consciousness of our ecclesiastical life has become more vivid, we have also felt the need of a council, in which that life should manifest itself, and by which the laws and rules and institutions of the Church should be adapted to the altered circumstances and exigencies of the age. That such a desire is both natural and reasonable, few will dispute. That our present position is a most anomalous one, nobody can well deny. Divers persons indeed, as is ever the case when a change is demanded, however palpable its advantage may be, or however imperative its necessity, have boded that it would cause still greater evils, than those under which we are at present suffering. Into this argument I will not enter now, having considered it at some length in a Note to my Charge on *the Means of Unity*. But having spoken to you more than once in former years on the desirableness of an Ecclesiastical Synod, I feel bound to state that this desirableness appeared to be recognised by a considerable majority of the members who were present in the Lower House of Convocation at our Meeting in last

November; and the expression of our desire, which we introduced into the Address sent down to us, was readily adopted by the Upper House. I could have wisht for my own part that the expression had been stronger; and I proposed an amendment to that effect. But another amendment, which did not differ very materially from mine, being proposed at the same time, both fell to the ground. It is not to be wondered at that a body of men, who meet once in six or seven years for three or four hours, and most of whom are strangers to each other, should not fall at once into that orderly procedure, which a little experience suggests, and which is indispensable for carrying debates to a definite conclusion. Such a number of topics too came before us during those few hours, that it was impossible for any of them to receive the consideration they required. Owing to this cause, and to the vehement agitation by which the Church has been disturbed more than once since, I am afraid, the likelihood of the speedy meeting of an Ecclesiastical Synod has not been increast by the last Convocation. The somewhat faint expression of our wishes has been overpowered by the din of our subsequent disputes.

Among the subjects that were brought before us, one has since excited a lamentable ferment, and a painful and distressing controversy, a controversy in which I was reluctantly compelled to take a prominent part. For as I was called upon to invite you, my Reverend Brethren, to pronounce an opinion more or less condemnatory of a writer who had filled the highest theological chair in one of our Universities, it became a duty, which I could not decline, to examine the grounds

alleged in behalf of that opinion: and seeing that a careful examination of those grounds convinced me that they were utterly futile, I dared not shrink from the further duty imposed upon me by my office, of warning you more especially, and such other persons as might give ear to my warning, against being misled by what seemed to me an unjust clamour. In so doing I was aware that the opinion I had to express was at variance with that entertained by some of you. But surely you will agree with me that this was no reason for my suppressing it, that on the contrary this only made it more incumbent on me to speak out plainly and without delay, in order that, if possible, I might withhold some of those, whom I knew to have formed their conclusions on very inadequate grounds, from taking a step which they would afterward deeply regret.

On the subject matter of this disastrous controversy I will not speak (A). But as the wrath of man, though of itself it does not work the righteousness of God, is often overruled to work it, so may we hope that in the present instance He, who alone can, and who often does, will educe good for His Church out of this evil. We may hope that, at a time when it is becoming more and more a recognised principle of politics, that there should be a sympathy and conformity between governments and the nations they are set to govern, a rightful deference will be paid to the feelings and opinions of the Clergy in the appointment of those who are to rule over them. Since the ancient forms, which were regarded as affording some sort of security on this head, have been proved to be empty nullities, let us further

hope, and do what in us lies, to obtain, that some real, efficient enactment may be provided,—it would not be difficult to devise one,—whereby the Church may be preserved from any encroaching tyranny on the part of the State (B).

On the other hand there is a warning and admonition with regard to our own conduct, to be drawn from the controversy referred to, which, if we give heed to it, will be of still greater value, and will far more promote the welfare of the Church. If any one thing was manifest on this occasion, it was, that a number of persons, who took no slight part in the controversy, had a very slender acquaintance with the grounds on which they were acting. I am not intending to express any censure on those, who, after a calm examination of the case, were led to a conclusion different from mine. Every conscientious conviction I desire always to respect. But surely, my Reverend Brethren, you must all concur with me, when I ask you the question thus generally, that it does not become any person, least of all a minister of Christ's Church, to take a step whereby he conveys a grave censure on a brother, without carefully investigating and sifting the reasons on which that censure is founded. Surely this at all events is involved in our Lord's words commanding us not to judge. Surely too it especially beseems our clerkly character to set an example of caution and deliberation in forming our judgements. At a time when the Church is so torn by the counter-currents of party-spirit, and when each party has its journals, which live by fanning and fostering and fueling, and almost pandering to its prejudices, it is more than ever incumbent on each of us to keep a strict

watch over our prejudices, and to be especially scrupulous in ascertaining the exact truth of whatever makes against an opponent. Party-spirit, like every other evil spirit, flies from the light, and dwells in darkness, because its deeds are dark. It is in the darkness that incendiaries prowl about, political and religious incendiaries, as well as others. Let us shun them, and their darkness, and endeavour to walk always in the light.

Had this principle been acted upon, the second controversy of which I have to speak, would have been much less vehement and briefer; that, I mean, which has been excited by the Clauses concerning the management of Schools required by the Privy Council as a condition of their grants. If this matter had been treated calmly, and with the desire of attaining to an amicable result, not only would much needless irritation and asperity have been avoided, but the points of difference, which are of any real importance, would probably have been adjusted satisfactorily long ago. For there are certain premisses, as to which, it seems to me, all intelligent and candid persons, who consider the subject, must agree.

In the first place it would appear to have been lost sight of by many, that, when a new School is established, it is necessary to have a deed conveying the School to certain Trustees, who thenceforward have the sole legal authority to controul and manage it, unless their authority be limited by some express provision. To persons who have no acquaintance with such matters, all legal deeds are irksome and annoying. People like to have their own way in everything, and are unwilling to fetter what they deem their liberty of action. Trust-deeds,

testaments, settlements seem to them very cumbrous and uncongenial. Why should not all things be left to go right, without passing through a process of legal drilling? Nor, until we are lessoned by experience, are we at all aware how important it is, that questions, in which the disposition of property is concerned, should be technically regulated and determined. So apt too are we to think merely of the present, and of the future solely as a prolongation of the present, that we are very slow to project our thoughts into a period when that which now is will be wholly changed. Owing to these causes, the Foundation-deeds of Schools have often been drawn up with great negligence, vesting them inconsiderately in Trustees, who have felt little or no interest in education. I have been informed by two excellent clergymen, who have faithfully and judiciously discharged the office of Inspector, and who have thus been led officially to examine the Trust-deeds of Schools, that such cases are not uncommon, and that sometimes the whole purpose of the School has been frustrated thereby. In some instances Trustees, who were averse to education, have shut up a school; in very many they have appointed inefficient, incompetent teachers, the office being conferred, for the sake of relieving the Poor-rates, on persons whose sole claim was that they could not earn their livelihood in any other way. Yet, when the Trust-deed has once been confirmed, there is no redress for such abuses, except by a special Act of Parliament, the expense of which renders it unattainable. Now the knowledge of these cases, and of the great importance of Trust-deeds, has led the Committee of the Privy Council naturally and rightfully to desire that such mischiefs,

which it is so difficult to remedy afterward, might be prevented in future by the adoption of Trust-deeds, which should provide, as far as possible, for the permanent efficiency and good management of Schools. Surely too, when their attention had once been directed to the evils which accrue from the present irregularities, it would have been a most culpable neglect of duty, if they had not tried to secure the Schools, on which public money is bestowed, from similar accidents and abuses (c).

This, I think, if we look at the matter candidly, we must needs perceive, was the original purpose of the Clauses, which have excited so much opposition. Hence it seems to me that, if we had not been under the influence of unfavorable prepossessions, we should not have taken offense, or had jealous suspicions excited, but should rather have been thankful for being thus preserved from the consequences of our inexperience. At all events I should myself have been so, if I could have obtained such help and guidance some years since for framing the Trust-deed of the School in my own Parish: and I have been informed that several persons, who have received this help, have express their gratitude on account of it.

It is true, though the primary intention of the framers of the Clauses was not unfriendly to the Church, yet, as they would inevitably look at the affair from a different point of view, they might introduce provisions, which we, from our point of view, might deem inexpedient, or even hurtful. Still, if such was the case, it ought to have been made the subject of an amicable negotiation. That there was no hostility, open or lurking, in the Committee of the Privy Council,—could

we suppose such to have existed,—they proved in the first instance by their desire to frame their clauses in conformity to the Terms of Union required by the National Society, and afterward by submitting them to the Committee of the National Society, and adopting the chief part of the changes which the latter Committee suggested. That they should subsequently have been unwilling to alter and modify them again and again, according to the wishes or caprices of each individual applicant for a grant, is not to be wondered at, and cannot form a reasonable ground for complaint. Is not every Society, which makes grants in aid of any public works, wont to attach certain conditions to its grants, and to require that those conditions should be strictly complied with? If the conditions are objectionable, we may find fault with them on that ground; but we ought not to find fault with them on the ground of their being imperative. Public bodies are constrained to bind themselves by general laws, were it only to protect themselves from the constantly occurring temptations to partiality, and to obviate the endless discussions and disputes which would arise, unless each particular case were decided according to some general rule. Hence I can feel no sympathy with those who object to the Clauses on the score of their being compulsory. Much energetic declamation has been poured out on this head, as though the clauses were an infringement of an Englishman's vested privilege of doing as he likes, right or wrong. The wise however know, that true freedom does not lie in the region of wilfulness, but in that of a willing obedience to law: and the wisest of poets has taught us what sort of character will

protest the most vehemently against compulsion, so that he will not even give reasons upon compulsion. A certain degree of liberty should indeed be left open, that the general forms may be adapted to the varying circumstances of particular parishes: but when the main principles and outlines have been agreed upon as expedient, it seems to me that a body entrusted by Parliament with the power of voting grants of public money, is under a kind of necessity to make their rules compulsory.

I do not forget that, in the case of grants to some of the Dissenting bodies, the Committee of the Privy Council have been induced to exempt them from some of the restrictions, as well as from the supervision, to which we are liable; and certain persons have cried out that it is very unjust and shameful, that we of the Church should have a worse measure dealt to us than they have. Now I confess, it has seemed to me, on more than one occasion of late years, that our Ministers have shewn what I could not but deem very reprehensible weakness in altering or giving up regulations, which they had declared to be necessary or expedient, in compliance with clamorous importunity. This is one of the many indications, which threaten that the art of government will ere long rank among the extinct arts. But at all events let us not be deluded into fancying that such an exemption is a special privilege or benefit to those to whom it is conceded. The children of the house have to submit to a care, a guidance, a rule, which is not extended to strangers. It is not a mark of oppression, but the privilege of the Church, that we are to a certain extent responsible to the State for the due discharge of those offices with

which we are invested by the State. The State recognises the Church alone, and, as one of the consequences of this recognition, is entrusted with the nomination of our Rulers; while the Dissenters are left to choose their own ministers, and give no account in any way for the discharge of their duties. The State may indeed bestow its alms on them, as in the instance of the *Regium Donum*; but it does not recognise them corporately: and perhaps on this ground it may be in some manner justified in not imposing the conditions I have alluded to. Only do not let us, my Brethren, envy as a privilege, what proceeds from their being treated rather as aliens than as citizens.

The time will not allow me to discuss the specific provisions in the Clauses, which have excited the most animadversion. I will only notice a couple of points, premising that, if the Committee of the Privy Council has refused to alter its rules at the request of certain individual members of our Church, it might well deem itself warranted in this refusal by the fact that such alterations were not required by the Committee of the National Society, which it has been accustomed to negotiate with as the official organ of the Church in matters pertaining to education; nay, that the Committee of the National Society had declared themselves prepared to recommend the Clauses to applicants for aid (D).

The leading principle, which the Committee of the Privy Council has tried to carry out in the Clauses we are considering, is manifestly this, that the lay members of the Church ought rightfully to have a voice in the management of our Parish-schools. Now this principle, when it is stated thus broadly, few persons at

present will openly controvert. Thus far therefore we may regard the Clauses as forming a beneficial epoch in the history of our National Education; since they contain a distinct assertion of a very important principle, which almost everybody, when called upon to admit or deny it, allows to be right, though in the common practice hitherto it has often been sadly disregarded, to the injury of every party, of the Clergy, no less than of the Laity, and of the School itself. Thoroughly indeed do I concur with you, my Reverend Brethren, in holding that the Church is the rightful, and the best educator of the English people: for this is merely another way of saying, that religion is the only sound and stable foundation for a system of National Education, in a Christian land the religion of Christ; and, where there is a National Church, one main portion of its office will necessarily be to take charge of the education of the people. But I trust that you on the other hand will go along with me in disclaiming the proposition, which some have substituted for the one just stated, that the whole management and controul of our National Education ought to be vested exclusively in the Clergy. In bygone ages, when almost all the knowledge possest by a nation was concentrated in the Clergy, this was a natural consequence: nor need we be surprised that the proposition was inverted, and that it was accounted wellnigh indispensable for a teacher of youth to be in holy orders. This state of things continued down to the Reformation, being fostered by the jealous policy of that Church, which has always laboured to keep its lay members in abject spiritual subjection. Hence some of the rules

laid down by our own Church in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with reference to this as well as divers other matters, bear the marks of emanating from a like system. These rules those in our days who belong to the tribe of the Seven Sleepers, and who fancy that the world is standing still at the point where their minds fell asleep, are desirous of reviving. Yet the results from the whole system were no other than what a sagacious man would have anticipated. On the one hand the Laity, being almost precluded from taking part in the godly works of the Church, grew to deem that their vocation was altogether secular: and, as it is scarcely possible for people to preserve a lively interest in that in which they find no room for action, many, especially of the more intelligent, among the higher classes lapsed into the region of practical, if not of speculative, infidelity; the evil of which was rather increased than diminished by its combination with a nominal outward conformity. On the other hand the Clergy themselves, from occupying this false position, became outwardly weak, and, in a grievous number of cases, inwardly hollow;—weak, from the want of that help, which they ought to have sought, but which they had rather repelled,—hollow, as we are apt to grow, when we are destitute of the interchange and reciprocation of our feelings, and when we are more tenacious of our rights, than of our duties. In these days therefore, when knowledge and the faculty of teaching are so much more widely diffused, and when God has so graciously vouchsafed to awaken a livelier spirit of faith in our land, a spirit which manifests itself with such rich fruits in so many of our lay brethren, it would be a most unwise

and unrighteous abuse of the blessings so mercifully granted to us, if we attempted to prolong a usurpation, the only excuse for which lay in the condition of the age when it arose. Rather ought we joyfully to stretch out the right hand of fellowship to our lay brethren, and to join with all who are willing to join with us, in carrying on such good works as may contribute to the building up of the nation in Christian knowledge and godliness. The task is so immense, its difficulties are so enormous, we must needs feel perpetually how utterly inadequate we are to it, and what urgent need we have of help, primarily indeed of Divine help, but also of human. In these days above all, when the powers that are against us are so greatly increast, when so many fresh hindrances and dangers are starting forth on every side, surely it is as when a ship is struggling against a storm: all hands should be called to do their utmost (D).

With regard to this principle however, as I have already said, there is little open diversity of opinion; much as may be lurking, often perhaps without the consciousness of the holders. So far as my observation has extended, nearly all persons are now agreed on the propriety and expediency of having a certain number of laymen among the managers of our Parish-schools. As to the best mode of appointing them, there are differences. Some persons wish that they should be selected by the minister of the Parish, or by the Bishop of the Diocese. But this looks too much like an underhand way of clinging to that exclusive authority, which we cannot rightfully claim, and yet are unwilling to relinquish. It is keeping the Laity under a tutelage, which they have long outgrown. Practically too the

selection by the minister would often lead to painful divisions; since injudicious ministers,—and we know, my Brethren, there will always be some such,—would be influenced in their choice by personal feelings, and would pass over those with whom they were at all at variance; while laymen, who were overlookt, might take offense; and thus the School and the Parish would suffer. On the other hand it may be pronounced impossible that any Bishop, in our present enormous Dioceses, should be capable of deciding what persons in each Parish are fittest to manage the School in it. In the plan recommended by the Privy Council, there is evidently a collateral wish to remove the difficulties often found in raising funds for the support of Parish-schools. With this view inducements are held out for persons to become subscribers on a twofold scale. Subscribers of half a guinea a year elect the managers; subscribers of a guinea a year are themselves eligible.

Of course one point is of essential importance, namely, that the persons who are to have a voice in the management of our Schools, should be members of our Church; and there has been a good deal of dispute about the best way of ascertaining this. The Committee of the Privy Council are unwilling to use the Holy Communion as a test; and when we call to mind how this test was profaned, while it was used politically, we cannot wonder that they should be reluctant to revive it; more especially as they belong to that party in the State, which perseveringly contended for, and at length effected its abolition. At the same time it is to be considered that the persons who are to exercise a controll over the education of our children, ought not to be merely nominal,

but real members of our Church, and that communicating is the only outward mark of this; that they ought to have something at least of a true Christian life and spirit, which will hardly be found in the upper classes, except among communicants; and that the test in this case ought not to be a single act, which an unprincipled man might go through to gain a secular end, but a habit carried on for years. Nor would this test be adopted with the view of excluding Dissenters from any civil privileges, which ought to be open to the whole nation, but solely as a security for the religious character of institutions, which, though we may be ready to receive the children of such Dissenters as choose to place them under our tuition, are expressly established for the training of the children of the Church.

Still, since the Committee of the Privy Council have declared, that "it is their wish and intention, that the managers of Church of England Schools should be *bona fide* members of that Church," and that "they would be prepared to adopt any other description of the qualifications of School-managers, which would ensure this result, and which was not open to graver objections than those which it removed," we ought not to doubt that the differences on this point, as well as on other minor ones, may be settled by an amicable negotiation, carried on by the Committee of the National Society under its excellent, pious President (F). Only let us, my Reverend Brethren, refrain from hindering or disturbing this negotiation by needless heat and clamour. Let us keep continually in mind what our object is, of what paramount importance,—yes, of paramount importance, even when we look at it merely with reference to the

temporal and political welfare of the people and state of England,—but which, when we take a still higher view, stretches through eternity, and reaches from the bottomless abyss to the foot of the throne of God. Such is the object set before us, the moral and spiritual education of the rising generation in England. Shall we peril its attainment, because we are not allowed, each one of us, to follow our own by-path in marching toward it? Is this the way in which it behoves the Church Militant to fulfill, or rather to abandon her glorious task?

That we cannot compass our object by mere private exertions, without the concurrence and help of the State, has been sufficiently proved by the experience of these last years. Private exertions were made a few years since to an extent beyond the measure of our age: but the results of those exertions fell very far short of the wants of the nation, heightened as those wants have been by generations of neglect, and by the rapidity with which our population has been increasing, and accumulating in enormous, dense masses, under the influence of all manner of stimulants. Those exertions too were merely temporary; while the wants continue, nay, grow every year. Or can we expect to call forth similar exertions again,—can we hope that our lay brethren will be very eager to pour their gifts into our treasury,—when the chief ground of our rejecting the aid of the State would in point of fact be the reluctance of certain persons to surrender the exclusive management of their Schools by admitting our lay brethren to their rightful share in it (G)?

Another motive has indeed been spoken of in some quarters, as having contributed in no small degree to

excite the general dissatisfaction,—the jealousy felt with regard to a particular person holding an important office under the Committee of the Privy Council. But surely this is a most unworthy motive to sway the decisions of the Church on a matter so deeply affecting the political, moral, and spiritual welfare of the English nation. What! are we to break off negociations, which at length for the first time promise to supply a scheme of National Education in some sort commensurate to the wants of the people, because forsooth certain persons look with distrust on a Secretary of Council? Does not the very question make one blush, half with shame, half with indignation? If we have any positive, tangible complaints to bring forward against the person referred to, let us petition for his removal. If not, our business and our duty is to regard him as the minister ordained by God for this important office, and to treat with him as such. Jealous suspicions, that crawl about in men's hearts, but shrink from coming forward in open act, are evil counsellors, and are nowhere more out of place than in the deliberations of the Church.

Nor let us give ear to those who cry, as people are ever wont, when they have nothing more definite to urge, that the Committee of Council are designing by this measure to drive in the narrow end of the wedge, as a prelude to usurping the whole controll and management of our National Education (H). They who are fond of using this form of argument, are apt to get clencht and wedged in themselves, through their own restless ingenuity; and their end is a sort of parody of Milo's. So far as a measure is objectionable in itself, let us object to it, but not on the ground that it may pave the way for one

can't tell what terrible consequences. There is quite enough in the realities of life to occupy all our fears, if we choose to indulge in fears. But even by these realities we should not be dismayed or daunted. Let us look them in the face, knowing who is on our side. Let us try, with God's help, to contend against them, with all our heart, and with all our soul, and with all our mind, and with all our strength, not only individually, but collectively, with the whole heart and soul and mind and strength of the Church. If we do so, through God's help we shall overcome them. But if we turn away from the serious conflicts of duty, to gratify our wayward jealousies by shadowfights against imaginary bugbears, the enemy will gain ground on us, and the victory will be his.

Even in ordinary times, the honour which we are commanded to pay to all who are in authority, should prevent those who are under a special obligation to rule their lives according to the precepts of the Gospel, from looking habitually askance at the measures of our Government. If those party-feelings, to which the nature and history of our Constitution have given such power over the English mind, render this very difficult, we are no more emancipated from this duty thereby, than we should be from any other: we are only called to be more watchful against the perpetual, strong temptations to transgress it. When the State offers to help the Church in doing what is to promote the welfare of the nation, we should accept the offer trustfully and thankfully; unless indeed it plainly involves the sacrifice of some high principle: and this we should not suspect without an urgent necessity. Now that the Committee of the Privy Council

are really desirous of improving the education of the people, we have ample grounds for believing. This is one of the great questions of national policy, which their party have long advocated with an earnest assertion of its primary importance: nor would it be easy to devise any measures of more beneficial promise, than the recent regulations concerning Pupil-teachers and Certificates to Schoolmasters. The latter is well fitted to act as a stimulus on the existing body of schoolmasters, and to render them diligent in self-improvement, thus counteracting the natural tendency of their profession to count that they have already attained, and to forget that none can teach efficiently, except those who are continually learning. The former regulation, if it be carried out judiciously, will provide a constant supply of teachers duly trained and qualified for their task. The most intelligent and best-conducted among the children of the poor will be raised from the necessity of manual labour to serve God in the education of His people. The difficulties which at present stand in the way of our retaining them at school, after they have entered on their teens, and of our maintaining them at Training Schools, will be removed. Thus the chief cause which has hitherto baffled our efforts to educate the people, the inefficiency of the great body of our schoolmasters, will no longer exist. When such prospects are opened before us, surely we should not allow any miserable personal jealousies to prevent our cooperating cordially with the State in this godly undertaking (1). Confidence in those with whom we are to act, will win their esteem and respect, much sooner than suspicion will. Confidence wins strength. We shall be stronger in ourselves, from giving ourselves

up in singleness of heart to our work ; and they in whom we trust will take pleasure in helping us.

It must be known to you all, that the vehemence of this unhappy controversy had not subsided a month ago. I would fain hope however that the singularly able and persuasive speech of the Bishop of Oxford at the Meeting of the National Society will effect much in allaying this agitation permanently, as it seems to have done with almost magical power at the time when it was delivered. On another controversy, of more recent origin, which threatened a few weeks since to excite a ferment through our whole Church, I must add a few remarks,—that, I mean, which was caused by the statement that a new definition of Heresy was to be introduced into the Bill concerning Clerical Offenses.

This Bill, I believe, has been laid before you all at the Rural Chapters, in order that every one might have an opportunity of pointing out whatever he might disapprove of therein. It was minutely discust at a Meeting of the Rural Deans of this Archdeaconry, which our kind and excellent Bishop convoked last autumn at Chichester, for the consideration of such ecclesiastical questions as any of us might deem of immediate interest. It has been repeatedly weighed, year after year, by the whole Episcopal Bench, who have had the help of all the Law-lords. Thus the utmost care has been taken to frame it so that it shall supply the means of correcting criminous Clerks, without infringing on the rights and liberties of the Clergy ; and, as this twofold purpose has been kept steadily in view, we may reasonably hope that every objectionable provision will have been removed, and that our Bishops will at length be enabled to put an end to

those most grievous and terrible scandals, which arise wherever a clergyman disgraces his profession by an immoral life. The instances of such clergymen are indeed become very much rarer of late years. It is a source of perpetual thanksgiving to me to know how many zealous, godly ministers are devoting themselves every year to the service of our Lord in this Archdeaconry, which we have no reason to suppose peculiarly favoured above other parts of our Church. Still however some men, though but a few, of evil lives are to be found here and there; nor is it easy to conceive by what precautions they can ever be entirely excluded. If among the twelve Apostles there was a Judas, how can we expect that in a body of above fifteen thousand Clergy no reprobate members should be found. Therefore, as the mischief done by such men, even though there should be but one or two in a Diocese, is incalculable,—as they must almost infallibly check the growth of godliness, if not absolutely deaden it, in their own parishes, or at all events drive many of the serious-minded into dissent,—and as the offense of their conduct is sure to spread far and wide, and to be magnified by all who wish ill to the Church,—we ought to rejoice in the prospect that these fearful evils are likely to be abated. Earnestly as we may wish to preserve our order from being exposed to vexatious and groundless accusations, we should be still more desirous that the Church should be delivered from such foul, destructive plaguespots. After a repeated careful examination of the Bill, carried on in consort with several of my brother Clergy, its provisions appear to me on the whole to afford us every security we can justly require; wherefore I trust that another year will not elapse without

its becoming law, with such improvements as the reflexions of the ensuing twelvemonth may suggest (J).

Among the provisions of this Bill, is one which restores the cognisance of charges of Heresy to our ancient Ecclesiastical Courts. This is very desirable; as the reference of such questions to a Diocesan Tribunal, under the presidency of the Bishop, would expose the Church to have all manner of determinations of Heresy, according to the theological predilections and antipathies of each particular Bishop. Moreover a new Court of Appeal is constituted for all such causes, a Court incomparably better fitted to decide on them, than that to which they have hitherto been referred. Now a report has been circulated, that it was the intention of some person, whose name was not mentioned, to move the insertion of a clause in this part of the Bill, laying down that the Thirty-nine Articles are henceforward to be regarded as the sole criterion of Heresy, or false or unsound doctrine: and, in the irritable state of men's minds, this report, caught up, as it was, and made the most of by those whose favorite atmosphere is the breath of strife in the Church, excited a good deal of commotion. This commotion however, it seems to me, was altogether premature. I cannot see how it consists with that calmness and deliberation, which should characterize the proceedings of the Church, to hold meetings and draw up addresses and protests on the strength of such an indefinite report. Surely we ought rather to have waited, until we had ascertained the real nature of the proposition, which many were so forward to condemn (K).

On one ground indeed I should hold that every proposition of the kind is exceedingly objectionable. For

it would imply that the Parliament is assuming the authority of determining what is the real doctrine of our Church,—an assumption which we must never submit to, which would have been an intolerable usurpation even when the Parliament consisted exclusively of members of our Church, but which now could hardly have any other result than the disruption of the Church from the State. Such a measure, it seems to me, would be utterly lawless, except our Ecclesiastical Synod were convened to sanction and adopt it. In principle it would be lawless; and practically what scandals must ensue, if the holy doctrines of our faith were to become a subject of contentious discussion in an assembly constituted like the present House of Commons, which, we may without disparagement assert, is little qualified for such discussions by knowledge either theological or ecclesiastical, and which contains a number of members openly or secretly adverse to the tenets of our Church! For such a body to legislate concerning our doctrine would be a violation of all right and of all decorum (L). Yet we are hardly warranted in taking for granted that any such purpose exists, at least as a reason for open remonstrance, until the proposition is actually brought forward, and set in a definite shape before us.

Far less can we pronounce whether the supposed proposition is, or is not, at variance with the received law of the Church concerning doctrinal errors, until we know precisely what it professes to lay down. On the very face of the Articles, it is manifest, from their dogmatical form, and even from their title, that they were designed to be the specific enunciation of the theological tenets of our Church; and consequently they

are regarded, in the practice of our Ecclesiastical Courts, as the ordinary test whereby to determine what is heresy, or false, or unsound doctrine. This is implied, I say, in the title, in which they are stated to have been agreed upon "for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion." At the same time, since we are compelled by the Act of Uniformity to declare our unfeigned assent and consent to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer, the doctrinal views of the Prayerbook are equally binding on our consciences. If it be askt, what is to be done, when these two tests are opposed to each other, when the doctrine of the Prayerbook differs from that of the Articles,—whether in such a case the Prayerbook should give way to the Articles, or the Articles to the Prayerbook,—the simple answer is, that we ought not to assume that any such difference exists. When there is the appearance of such a difference, it arises from our misapprehending and straining the language of that test, to which we especially lean. Finding expressions in considerable accordance with our own views, we are apt to put our own views into those expressions, overlooking the limitations by which the judicious authors of our Articles guarded against the sin of setting up the conclusions of their own understanding in the place of God's revealed truth. Thus we make that absolute and exclusive, which was only intended to be stated in coordination with other truths; and the opposition we talk about is of our own creating. If we take pains in examining both the documents carefully and candidly, with a regard to their historical as well as their literal meaning, we shall find that the differences are merely apparent,

like the contradictions which opposite theological schools will wrest out of the Bible itself. Hence, with respect to the proposed clause, it seems to me that our plain path of duty is to suspend our judgement, until it is actually brought forward, and we know its real purport, and whether it contains anything directly repugnant to the principles and practice of our Church. It is scarcely becoming in a body of Clergy to sound the alarm through the land, for the sake of waging war against an embryo proposition, as to the nature of which we have no means of forming a precise notion.

I recur to this point again and again, because, although one might have deemed that the ministers of Christ's Church would be more deeply imprest than other men with the solemn duty of not pronouncing a sentence, above all a sentence of condemnation, except after a scrupulous investigation, and under a cogent conviction of its correctness, it has appeared to me that this duty has been lamentably disregarded by many, on occasion of the three controversies I have been speaking of, during the last year. Had it not been for this cause, those controversies would have been comparatively brief. Owing to this, they have so grievously distracted the Church. Party-spirit is always negligent of justice: it judges, not according to facts, but to its own prepossessions and prejudices: and of party-spirit there is always a restless store in England. It is the natural result of our free Constitution, of the manner in which each individual Englishman feels called upon to take a personal interest in the affairs of the nation. Along with the various good effects springing from this cause, we have this evil one. Hence we are under a special obligation to

keep a vigilant guard against the excesses into which this spirit is so apt to run: and as the questions which are agitating the Church as well as the State in these days, come home to every heart, our danger in these days is peculiarly great. Let us bear steadily in mind that the maxim of the Prince of this world, the maxim of the Prince of darkness, and of all the chiefs among his crew, has ever been, *Divide et impera: Divide your opponents; and weaken them by their divisions; and they will fall an easy prey to you.* On the other hand the watchword of the Prince of Peace is *Unite: Unite your hearts to the Lord; unite them to each other; go forth in the might which that union will give you; and thereby overpower and win your enemies.* If we were indeed to enter on our blessed work with one heart and one soul and one mind, we should doubtless be enabled in God's strength to fulfill it. If we waste half our time, and more than half our force and zeal, in contending against one another, we shall have little left for fighting the battles of the Kingdom of God.

Turning away from these unhappy controversies, on the evils of which I have deemed it my duty to speak to you thus frankly and fully, I would fain express my thankfulness, — in which most of you, my Reverend Brethren, if not all, I feel sure, cordially participate, — that the Bill which was brought into Parliament for the Admission of Jews into the Legislature, was rejected by the House of Lords. On this question I grieve to find myself differing from several persons, for whose judgement I entertain the highest respect, and whose concurrence on ordinary occasions I prize as the most satisfactory confirmation of my opinions. This

however only makes me feel a stronger obligation to explain why, after carefully examining the arguments by which that Bill has been defended, I cannot find anything in them of sufficient force to necessitate or warrant our departing from the great ancient principle of our Constitution. That principle in all ages, from the very birth of our Constitution, has been, that we are a Christian People, a Christian Nation, a Christian State, and therefore that our Legislature and Government are, and ought to be, Christian.

It may be contended that this principle in early times was not expressly enunciated in any particular law. Indeed it has been argued that there is nothing to exclude the Jews from the House of Commons, except a form of words which was adopted for a totally different purpose, and which therefore only accidentally forms a bar to their admission. Surely however this is a mere sophism. It happens continually that those very principles, which are the most powerful, the most pervading, which permeate all our feelings and opinions, and are wound up with our whole being, do not receive a distinct enunciation; because, so long as we do not meet with anything to contradict or oppose them, we quietly take them for granted, and have no motive for uttering them in definite propositions. In the very act of enunciating a truth, we transform it from a living power within us into an outward object of thought. We do not make laws against that, which we do not even conceive as a possibility. No distinct Act was required to exclude Jews from Parliament, when, until very lately, they could not even hold land (M).

Before the Reformation, Christianity was practically

identified with the faith of that which assumed the exclusive name of the Catholic Church. Even heretics were then deprived of their civil rights by excommunication: those who profest a religion different from the Christian, were clast under the head of unbelievers, and could not lawfully acquire any. After the Reformation, Western Christendom became divided into a number of distinct, and often opposite bodies; and, amid the confusion caused hereby, it is not to be wondered at that the idea, which was implied in our whole Constitution, as it was in the Constitutions of the other Christian nations in Europe, workt itself out only by degrees, passing through narrow, partial forms. It was assumed, and rightly so, that the Church ought to be coextensive with the Nation. This is especially the ruling idea in Queen Elizabeth's ecclesiastical policy; and it found expression in the principle which declares that the Sovereign is the head of the Church. But, owing to divers grievous errours and sins, to all manner of confusions between the secular and the spiritual, and between essentials and non-essentials,—confusions, which, when arbitrary power attempted to enforce its own narrow views, became calamitous evils,—the Nation in point of fact was very far from coinciding with the National Church. Hence, as political privileges were restricted to the National Church, there was a large part of the Nation, who were excluded from its highest civil rights, who were in a manner disfranchist, or only allowed to enjoy a lower franchise. As the confusions which had produced this irregular state of things, continued to prevail, and as the lessons of experience, which would have dictated a more comprehensive policy, were wholly

disregarded, the disproportion between the Nation and the Church became progressively greater and greater. Such a state of things contains the germs of its dissolution. It must be reformed; or it will be destroyed. We cannot uphold an idea or a principle, under a form to which the realities of life give the lie. The Nation was indeed Christian; but only a portion of it was comprehended in the National Church; the largest portion, it is true; but still a very large portion, and not merely numerically,—a large portion of the national wealth, of the national property, of the national industry, of the national intelligence, of the national power, both physical and moral,—lay without the pale of the National Church, to the members of which the highest civil privileges were confined. This could not last. It could not, because it ought not, because the laws, as handed down from former generations, were at variance with the true idea of the Constitution. Hence it became necessary by degrees to enlarge the pale of our institutions, so that they should comprehend the other Christian bodies in the British Empire, as well as the members of the National Church. This was effected chiefly by the Repeal of the Test Act, and by what is called the Emancipation of the Roman Catholics. I am not entering into an argument as to the expediency or propriety of these measures. I am merely speaking of them historically, as facts which have occurred, and which it was quite impossible to avert. For many years a large portion of our Church struggled against them successfully: but at length it became manifest that the struggle could no longer be maintained. Thus that which I have termed the principle of our Constitution, the principle or idea which

had been working itself out during five centuries, received its full development. All our civil privileges were thrown open to every denomination of Christians, to every person professing the faith of a Christian.

That this was not a mere accident arising from casual majorities in our Parliament, but a conclusion toward which the mind of man, impelled by the divinely appointed course of events, had gradually advanced, is proved on the one hand by the fact, that the necessity of the change forced itself by degrees on the conviction of almost all our leading statesmen, even of many who at one time were strongly opposed to it, and that now hardly any one would deem it practicable, or would even wish, that we should retrace our steps. On the other hand similar evidence is supplied by the modifications of previous institutions, which took place in a like spirit about the same time in several states on the Continent of Europe. It began to be generally acknowledged that all bodies of Christians ought to be admissible to the enjoyment of every civil privilege (x).

I have made this statement, because it seems to me of much importance to point out that there is a very broad and essential difference between the recent Bill for the Admission of Jews into the Legislature, and the previous Acts whereby the Dissenters and the Romanists were admitted. The advocates of the recent Bill have argued that it is merely the continuation and consummation of a series of measures, which the Legislature has been compelled to adopt, and by which one barrier of exclusion after another has been thrown down. On the contrary I would contend that the recent Bill is the commencement of a totally different course, the

expression of a totally different, nay, of a directly opposite principle. For hitherto the Christian character of the State and Nation has been asserted and upheld,—its Christian character, not as restricted to any one particular form of Christianity, but as embracing them all. In fact, I know not whether this is not brought out still more forcibly by the present declaration, which makes this the sole condition, without any ulterior determination, and consequently without a suspicion of favouring the interests of any one particular religious body. Whereas, by adopting the recent Bill, we should be rushing down the negative side of the hill, and plunging into that most antipolitical assertion, that all the civil privileges of a state are to be bestowed on all men, without any regard to their religion, that our Legislature henceforward is no longer to be an essentially Christian Legislature, but may be made up, to any amount, of Jews, Turks, Heretics, and Infidels (o).

The real principle of our Constitution, it seems to me, the principle which has been working itself out during the last three centuries, is that expressed by my honoured friend, Dr Arnold, in passages which have been often referred to during the discussions on this Bill, and which several of its advocates have tried to refute, though with little success, and with an inadequate appreciation of the important historical truth asserted in them (p). I do not mean that this principle has always been distinctly apprehended, even by those who have taken a leading part in working it out. As the agents in the historical development of mankind are rarely more than half conscious, mostly quite unconscious, of the work they are engaged in,—as they often suppose

themselves to have different objects in view, while God's overruling Providence shapes their ends not seldom directly against their wills,—so doubtless many of the persons who have been contending for the throwing open of all our civil privileges to all denominations of Christians, have acted under the notion that religion is an accident separable from man and from society, and that it has nothing to do with government. But even in the debates on the recent Bill,—although the principle of it appears to me to involve this proposition,—most of its chief advocates disclaimed such a consequence, and tried to rest their policy on a sounder basis.

It will doubtless be said,—indeed it has been said by more than one person with regard to Dr Arnold's opinion on the subject,—that this view of the essentially Christian character of our Legislature is a theory; and this, through some strange logical *quid pro quo*, is deemed a sufficient answer to it (Q). Let us accept the word, and acknowledge that it is a theory. What then? Is it a refutation of the Copernican and Newtonian system of the universe, to say that it is a theory? Every intelligent combination of a multitude of facts into an orderly, connected, systematic whole is a theory, *θεωρία*. Hence, when we try to arrange the facts presented by the history of our Constitution during a series of centuries, and to trace out the principles which have been unfolding themselves in that history, of course the result must be a theory. If we are able to trace the working out of the same principles contemporaneously in the other nations of Europe, it will still be a theory, *θεωρία*, only embracing a wider field of view. Should it be possible to discern the operation

of the same or similar principles in the institutions of heathen nations, the theory would become wider still. Thus, so far from there being any opposition or repugnance between theory and facts, it is impossible to make any use of facts as the materials for reasoning, unless their life and meaning is elicited from them by some sort of theory. Without a theory they are dead lumber, insulated, purposeless atoms: though of course a theory may be more or less hasty and erroneous, or partial, straining and distorting facts, or overlooking them and pushing them aside, if they seem to make against it.

But what, let us ask, is the argument on the strength of which this theory is to be condemned? on the strength of which it is contended that the Christian character of our Legislature, after having been preserved from its first origin down to this day, ought to be abandoned and sacrificed, for the sake of admitting Jews into it. This assuredly is not a theory: for there is not a single fact in our history, scarcely one, I believe I may say, in the whole history of the world, from which any such theory can be drawn, or which it would render intelligible. The whole history of the world, the history, the principles of every other Constitution, as well as of our own, bear witness to the opposite theory, and not to this. They bear witness that the government of a nation has always been, and ought always to be, connected in some manner with its religious worship, and that in the best ages of nations this connexion will be closer and more intimate; that a man's religious profession has always had, and ought always to have, an influence in determining his political privileges. There are a

number of pages in history recording the evils which have accrued from the perversion of this principle ; but these only bespeak the tenacity with which man in all ages has clung to it, and in no way justify our rejecting the principle, any more than the corruptions of any other would. On the other hand the notion, on which the claim of the Jews is mainly grounded by their advocates,—that every man born in a country is to be eligible to all its civil offices, without reference to any qualification whatever, unless it be property,—is a mere fiction of abstract political speculation, a fiction contradicted by the wisdom of every nation, and by the experience of every age. In fact it is the mere spawn of that abstract pseudo-philosophy, which spread so widely over the shallow waters of the last century, and which reached its consummation in Jacobinism, murmuring and roaring about men's rights, but knowing nothing, caring nothing about their duties ; wherefore the so-called rights exploded at last into the right of committing every crime under the sun. The wiser doctrine of our Constitution, the doctrine of all sound political philosophy, is, that political rights are the creatures of laws, of those customs which are unwritten laws, and of organized social institutions, and that no man can have any political rights, except what he derives from these laws and institutions ; while on the other hand it is the duty of the framers and modifiers of these laws and institutions in each country to be guided, in the distribution and apportionment of political rights, by a full, comprehensive, impartial, large-minded consideration of that which will promote the welfare, moral, social, and economical, of the whole State and of all its members (R). Hence

we may discard all arguments drawn from any supposed right of the Jews to political privileges. Right, as such, they have none; seeing that the laws and customs and institutions of England have never given them such a right, nay, have been altogether opposed to it. The true question is rather: is there any political necessity, or any political benefit of sufficient strength, to justify us in giving up the ancient Christian principle of our Constitution?

Of course I am not intending to lay down that every State, or that the Government and Legislature of every State, ought to be exclusively Christian. Ideally doubtless they ought to be so, even as every man ought, if he fulfilled God's purpose, and the true idea of his own nature. The Christian State is the highest form of a State, and alone fulfills the idea of a State. It alone contains those living, mighty principles of action, which will enable and impell the governors and the governed to discharge all their reciprocal duties (s). But the realities of the world, we know too well, diverge and deviate very far from the idea of what they ought to be: and the first duty of a Government is to attend to the realities of the world, to the real, actual condition of the people under it. The duty of raising the people out of their present condition into one more in conformity with the idea of what they ought to be, can only come second. Hence, if it had so happened, that the Jews formed a large portion, say a third, or a fourth, of the people of England, and if their social and moral weight were in any proportion to their numbers, it would then become the duty of the Legislature to consider what share this great and powerful part of the community

ought to have in the national representation. If they even formed a tenth or a twentieth, some question of the kind would require impartial discussion. For in such a case the basis, on which we found our assertion that the Legislature ought to be Christian, because we are a Christian people, would no longer be tenable. We should have ceased to be a Christian people; and a Christian Legislature, as the representative of the people, would therefore be a false pretense. When a Christian people are ruling as conquerors over a vast heathen population, as for instance in India, the solution of the problem will have to be modified by a variety of considerations; even if this were a case to which the system of a Representative Legislature could be applied. How far the diffusion of infidelity in France and Germany may have warranted the framers of their new Constitutions in laying down that political rights and privileges are not to be affected by any regard to a person's religious profession, I cannot presume to pronounce. At all events this does not belong to a normal, but to a most miserably abnormal and diseased condition of society, in which it would almost seem to be crumbling back into its elements (τ). Now we, through God's mercy, have hitherto been preserved from falling so low. Through God's mercy we may still say, that we are a Christian people, and that therefore we ought to have a Christian Legislature. Seeing that the Jews scarcely amount to more than a thousandth part of our population, we are under no political or moral obligation to violate the Christian principle of our Constitution by admitting Jews into it.

I have endeavoured briefly to point out the great

political principle by which, it seems to me, our Legislature were warranted, or rather bound, to reject the Bill for the Admission of Jews. That Bill was directly opposed to one of the fundamental principles of our Constitution, and could not have been carried without the subversion of that principle. It was not forced upon us by any political necessity. It was not enjoined by any political or moral expediency. No good whatever would have resulted from it; and the evil would have been incalculable, inasmuch as it would have been the first step toward the unchristianizing of our Legislature. A friend of mine, who was in Paris at the end of last year, heard one of the speakers in the Chamber of Peers say, *Nous, qui ne sommes ni Catholiques, ni Chrétiens*: and, when some persons dissented, he appealed to the Laws as his authority. When such language could be uttered under the sanction of the Laws, it is not to be wondered at that the whole Government should have been shoveled away two months after like a heap of rubbish. God grant that we may never hear such words within the walls of our Parliament! may the time never come when any one will be entitled to say *We are not Christians here!* Yet anyone may, if our Christian profession on entering Parliament be abolished, so that Christianity will no longer be essential, but a mere accident to our Legislature (v).

The time will not allow me to enter into an examination of the arguments by which the recent Bill was defended. That on which, it was alledged, the claims of the Jews mainly rested, belongs, it seems to me, as I have already said, to that spurious political philosophy, which has wrought such vast mischief during the last sixty years, which deals with rights as abstractions, caring

little about history, or the existing state of things, and spins a notional polity out of its own brain. Whereas the true political philosopher will deduce the idea of a constitution out of its history, not from the bare facts, but from the principles which have manifested themselves in those facts, and which have been working their way through them to a fuller, completer development. So too the true statesman, as we see him impersonated in Burke—who is also the grandest impersonation of the true political philosopher,—will look at every great national and constitutional question historically, not merely with reference to the outward shell and crust of history, but to the ideas and principles which have been unfolding and expanding in it. He will indeed earnestly desire to correct the abuses, which Time, and the foolishness and sinfulness of man, are continually introducing into every human work. He will desire no less earnestly so to modify the institutions of former ages as to adapt them to the altered condition and circumstances of the people. But he will always bear in mind, that, however it might flatter his vanity to sweep away the existing order of things, and to set up a totally new system in its place, yet that, with regard to institutions, as in the Eastern tale, the new lamp, though it look neat and bright, is powerless, the old lamp, with all its rust, has a spirit that belongs to it, of mighty, mysterious, magical power; and therefore he will beware of the temptations to exchange the old lamp for the new.

These thoughts lead us naturally to the events which have just been transforming the whole aspect of Europe: and how can I close this address without saying a few words to you on matters, which for the last four months

have been almost absorbing our attention and interest, and which are unparalleled in the history of the world? Formerly, when we have met on this occasion, it has been under the belief that the coming years would in the main be like the past,—that some of us, here and there one, would be taken away, so that their names would no longer be called upon earth, and that other names would be sounded in their stead,—but that our work would on the whole continue the same as it always had been, our duties the same, our motives and incentives the same, our diligence and zeal, we would fain hope, greater, yet still of the same kind; and we should almost as soon have expected that the laws of Nature would be stript of their force, that the sea and the land would change places, and that the stars would drop from their spheres, as that the political order of human affairs through the chief part of Europe would be utterly confounded, that the primary laws and fundamental relations of society would be subverted, that throne after throne would be trampled under the feet of the rabble, and that the refuse of the people would start up as their rulers. Yet these things, we know, have been going on, not in some one country,—as has been the case aforetime in ages of revolution,—but in one country after another. No pestilence ever spread so rapidly as the contagion of popular fury. The work of years was condensed into a day, almost into an hour. That which was held to be the strongest, proved to be utterly weak. That which had always been esteemed as wisdom, came out as arrant foolishness. It was as though a mask had suddenly been wrenched off from the face of Europe, and as though everything was discerned to be the very opposite of that

which it had been deemed; even as it will be at the great final unmasking of all the deceits and frauds of the world. The very means of strength, on which mankind had always relied,—and which they had tried to gather and pile around them, counting that, if they could do so, they were quite safe,—crumbled away in the hand which attempted to grasp them. Armies were paralysed. Statecraft was caught in the meshes of its own devices. Governments, which had stood for more than half a millennium, the roots of which spread through remote ages, and might have been supposed to strike into the heart of the earth, were removed like a tent, and cast down like a house of cards. Law, discipline, order, custom, reverence had lost their power. Nothing triumphed, except brute force, chance, wilfulness. Chaos seemed to be coming again, to swallow up all the fruits of a thousand-yearred civilization.

Our own country has indeed been happily exempt from the fiercer shocks of these convulsions. But who can tell how long it will continue so? That there are huge masses of the elements of evil, of the most virulent and destructive kind, fermenting in divers parts of England, has been proved by occasional outbreaks, and still more by the elaborate enquiries of Committees appointed by Parliament for the purpose. Can we hope that the hurricane, which has been sweeping away other Governments, will leave ours unscathed? that, while the fabric of society is tottering and falling to pieces in other countries, it will stand unshaken here? At all events we are bound by numberless ties of affection, of esteem, of common interests and aims, with the other nations of Europe. They cannot suffer, without our suffering also :

and, as we can hardly expect to continue erect, when all around are prostrate or falling, so we cannot contemplate the bare prospect of such an isolation without dismay.

What will be the fate of England? Will she weather the storm, which is strewing the earth with wrecks? We can hardly help asking ourselves this question; and our hearts will often quail as we ask it. But there is another question also, of still deeper interest to the heart of man, and which involves whatever of hope or fear connects itself with the future destinies of mankind: what will be the fate of Christ's Church throughout the earth? what will be the fate of Christianity? that is, so far as man's eye can see, so far as his understanding can draw conjectures from the signs of the times.

In one respect indeed there has been a noticeable difference between the bearing and conduct of the revolutionary spirit toward religion at the close of the last century and now. In the former Revolution its bearing was that of hatred, scorn, defiance, insult, outrage. But this year it has seemed that the revolutionary spirit has wisht to shew respect to religion, that, according to its own phraseology, it has been desirous of fraternizing with Christianity, that it has been willing, as is said of one of the Roman Emperors, to receive Christ among the gods of its Pantheon, or rather among the heroes in the temple of its self-worship. This change is in great measure the result of the philosophical and historical enquiries and speculations of recent times; owing to which the shallow, ignorant, sneering Atheism, so much admired under the name of Philosophy in the last century, can no longer lift up its voice. Yet the Pantheism, which has followed it, is scarcely better

essentially. Indeed in some respects it is almost worse, or at least more mischievous, as being more subtle, more guileful, more delusive, from having an imposing show of grandeur and comprehensiveness, which however, when tried, proves to be hollow. The lion's voice at first sounded so soft and gentle, one might have fancied that, to use the expression of our great poet, he was trying to roar "like a sucking dove;" and he gave out that his claws had been pared, that he was become a well-bred Christian beast, and had lost his relish for blood and crackling bones. But we have already seen dismal proofs that the human lion does not thus easily change his nature, which after a while breaks forth as rabid and ravenous as ever. So too the events of late years in Switzerland have shewn, that the toleration, of which Irreligion makes such boast, will soon change into persecution. Nay, what is it that Religion wants? not compliments and courtesies: not that people should talk in elegant and civil, or laudatory phrase about her: not that they should bear with her, and tolerate her. She wants men's hearts and wills, their faith, their love, their obedience. She wants men's hearts and wills, that she may restore them to their owners in a new and sanctified state. If these are withheld, everything else is worthless.

What then, I again ask, may we conjecture, so far as our human sagacity can read the signs of the times, will be the fate of the Church of Christ in the years which are coming upon us? I cannot, for my own part, draw any favorable anticipations from the manner in which the spirit of the Revolution has been attempting to fraternize with Christianity. On the contrary, as the chief evil which Christianity has to dread, is not

open and forcible aggression from without, but that insidious insinuation, which cripples men's zeal, and poisons their faith, so, among the saddest signs of the times, has been the reciprocation which the fraternizing of the revolutionary spirit has won,—the examples of the ministers of Christ who have been beguiled into fraternizing with the spirit of the Revolution. That which has been proved by all experience hitherto, is equally true now. The blood of martyrs is still the seed of the Church. She cannot increase without it. She cannot increase, except where there is the readiness to shed it in her behalf. As it was by the great selfsacrifice of her Divine Author that her foundations were originally laid, so it is through selfsacrifice that she has continually increast, by innumerable acts of selfsacrifice, the only acts which find a place within her, the only stones whereof she is built. Hence, if there is any recent event from which we might deduce anything like hopeful prospects for Religion, in these times when political institutions are crumbling and falling to the ground, it is the selfsacrifice of that martyred Prelate, who trod with solemn joy in the steps of his Heavenly Master, and went forth with fixt, steady purpose to follow the example of the Good Shepherd, who gave His life for His sheep.

If we look however at the present state of Europe in the light of God's word, its aspect becomes less dismal. Indeed such is ever the nature of God's word, that, though it may often be dim and cloudy, when the sun of this world is shining upon us, yet, when night and darkness gather around those who seek for its guidance, it brightens into a pillar of fire. The events of the

last six months may well remind us of the description of those days, when, we are told, *the sun was to be darkened, and the moon would not give her light, and the stars would fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens would be shaken.* In fact I have already been led to make use of a similar comparison; and it has been supposed by some of the commentators on this passage, that the physical disasters spoken of in it were intended, as similar phenomena were used by the prophets, to be significant of the destruction of powers and dominions (v). According to this interpretation, there has seldom been a period in history to which this description will apply so aptly as to the last six months. Now, at the very time when these convulsions were taking place, our Lord tells us, *The sign of the Son of Man shall appear in heaven; and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn; and they shall see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory. And He shall send His angels with a great sound of a trumpet; and they shall gather together His elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other.*

You will not surmise, I trust, my Brethren, from my quoting this passage, that I am going to copy the fond, dreamy presumption of those who turn the Bible into a book of divination, and deem that by some fantastical conjuration of texts they can make out the times and the seasons, which the Father, we are told, has put in His own power. But as our Lord's prophetic words referred in the first instance to the events which accompanied the destruction of Jerusalem, and received their first fulfilment then, so have they been fulfilled more than once in the history of the Church since. In the

most calamitous ages, when every earthly power was tottering and falling, when all earthly wisdom was smitten with blindness, and hope shrank into fear, the sign of the Son of Man has come forth in heaven; and, as all the tribes of the earth were driven to mourn, they have seen the sign of the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory.

The grandest example of this was at the downfall of the Roman empire, when people were foreboding that the world was going to rack, the moral and social terrors in men's minds giving a peculiar significance to the convulsions of the natural world. Yet this very destruction was the means of gathering the Northern nations into the Church. Thus did the sign of the Son of Man then come forth in heaven; and thus did He send His angels to gather His elect from one end of heaven to the other. In this manner, as the destruction of Jerusalem became a powerful cooperating cause in the Christianizing of the Roman empire, so did the destruction of the Roman empire prepare the way for the Christianizing of the Northern nations. Moreover then too one of the means which God made use of for the accomplishment of His purpose, was the mission of the Bishop of Rome, who went to the camp of the Huns, "exposing his life," as our infidel historian himself expresses it, "for the safety of his flock."

Nor are we altogether precluded from understanding how and why these things are so. For, as it is with individuals, so is it likewise ordained for nations, that they too are to enter into the kingdom of God *through much tribulation*. When every earthly strength fails, then are men readier, in the feeling of their own weakness, to look

out for a strength above that which is earthly. When all human wisdom is foiled and baffled, then, in the irresistible conviction of their own blindness, contrasted with the order and beauty which prevails in the universe, they learn more easily that the disorder and confusion and shortsightedness pertain to man, and that there must be another wisdom higher than man's, before which all is clearness and order and harmony. The utter despair of human help leads them to seek Divine help. The crumbling of all the strongest pillars of this world teaches them that they must raise their eyes beyond this world, if they would find pillars which shall never give way. This connexion is declared in our Lord's words, *Then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn*: and they who do thus *mourn*, with a weary, heavy-laden heart, receive the comfort promised to mourners, and see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven, dispersing and scattering the clouds, with power and great glory.

The most memorable example of this in later times is the age of the Reformation. But we too are living in the midst of a like age, as did our fathers, like, not merely in the overthrow of earthly powers and dominions, but also in constraining men to the recognition of higher powers, and a higher, indestructible dominion. No one can well be ignorant that the first act of the Revolution,—of which we are now entering on the third act, or, it may be, on the fifth,—full of horrors and calamities as that first act was, has given a graver, more serious tone to men's minds and characters. While it crushed so much that seemed bright and fair on the surface of society, it was a grand sweeping away of much that was hollow and rotten; and, if it brought forth a

number of portentous abominations, it also taught men that life is a solemn, awful thing, and, opening their eyes to the might and depth of evil in the world and in themselves, made them feel the need of a strength far different from their own, to combat that might of evil, and proved to them that, unless the course of human events were controlled and overruled by a superhuman Will, the world would perish utterly. It has often been remarked that one of the effects which the French Revolution wrought in England, was to fill the churches and doubtless it was a main agent, in God's hand, for producing that religious revival, which, though amid a host of contrary influences, has gone on spreading through Europe during the present century (w).

But this revival was so imperfect; there has been so much of false philosophy mixing itself up with the religious views of the age, so much of pantheistic speculation perverting the simple truth of the Gospel; Faith has been waning away so beneath the broadening light of Science, whereas Science ought rather to manifest the boundlessness of the realms of Faith; the kingdoms of the earth and their glory have so tempted and lured us away from the worship of Him whom alone we ought to serve; the idolatry of riches has spread so widely, albeit we had been taught in manifold ways that he who heaps up riches for himself, heaps them up in a bag with holes; the selfishness of man has become so careless, so prodigal and luxurious and selfindulgent, in spite of our continual experience that selfishness is weakness and misery; the pride of man has grown up again to such a towering height, notwithstanding all the lessons he had received to admonish him that his befitting posture is

humility; we were again crying out, *Aha! I am strong; I am rich; I am powerful; I am great; I am wise; the whole earth is mine to pamper my lusts, and the sea to bring me whatever I desire from far regions; and the winds themselves are my angels to carry my purveyors to and fro to every quarter of the globe: above all, my mind is triumphing over Nature, and eliciting new forms of power from her, which compell Time and Space to bow down as my rassals before me: therefore He, whose fan is in His hand, has again stretcht it forth, that He may thoroughly purge His floor, and gather His wheat into the garner, while the chaff is to be burnt up with unquenchable fire.*

This, my Brethren, assuredly is the light in which we should look at the events of these days, in their relation to the Church. Every age indeed is an age of sifting for her; and perhaps of all ages the most perilous to her is one of unclouded outward prosperity, when the Tempter comes to her, and offers her the kingdoms of the earth and their glory, if she will fall down and worship him. On the other hand, in an age of worldly trouble and oppression, she is tried, to the end that she may come out purified by the fire. She is tried, that the pure grain in her may be sifted and separated from the chaff. O, how much chaff has been mixt up of late years with all our doings, with all our words, with all our thoughts! How big have our thoughts and our words been! big enough to set the whole world in motion, to make it heave like a woman in childbirth. Yet what have been our deeds? Day swallows up day; year swallows up year: and at the end of a score of years what have we done? what for the advancement of God's

glory? what for the good of our fellow creatures? Have we not been perpetually realizing the fable of the mountain in labour? We have now been enjoying three and thirty years of comparative peace in Europe. What fruit have those thirty-three years brought forth? What are the good deeds, unknown to the doers, of which the Son of Man will remind the children of this generation, when He sits on the throne of His glory, and gathers the nations before Him?

If my business were to preach to you about our own personal spiritual life, of how many kinds of chaff should I have to speak! How many ears, seemingly full and fat, have been growing up within us, ears, which we ourselves may have fondly and proudly deemed full and fat, yet which, when they have been sifted, have proved to be mere chaff! Nor should I have far to seek for abundance of like chaff, if I were to search among our public acts and professions. Let me cite a single instance, not taken out of them indeed, but to which I am naturally led by the foregoing train of thoughts, and which at all events has gained a good deal of notoriety in these last months. You all know the modern revolutionary Trinity, in the name of which the French Republic issues its decrees. Of old it was the custom to inaugurate public acts in the name of the Holy Trinity. The acts of the French Republic come forth under the names of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. The falling off is indeed deplorable enough, from the three Divine Persons to these three abstractions. Yet still the words are good words, grand and noble words, in the fulness of their Christian meaning. But, as the motto of the French Republic, what mere chaff are they! chaff, to blind and to choke the gazing

and gaping multitudes! Liberty, from which every rational man shrinks in dismay to take refuge under martial law! Equality, which would manifest itself in the trampling down of every moral and intellectual distinction, until society became a dead, blank, waste! Fraternity, which, when you lift up its veil, comes forth as Fratricide! The ideas indeed are grand and noble, in their true Christian sense: but, as the idols of the Revolution, they are mere mockeries, by clothing himself wherewith the Spirit of Evil is aping the form of an angel of light.

In this, as in so many other instances, we see, that, what the better spirit of man, groping about amid the darkness of the world, desires and yearns for, he may ever find, in its reality and perfection, among the priceless treasures of the Gospel. For there alone do we find true Liberty,—the Freedom which Christ came to bring us, the Freedom which we gain by coming to the Truth, the freedom from error, the freedom from sin, the freedom from our own carnal, selfish nature, the freedom from the chains and manacles of the world. There we find true Equality, Equality in the sight of God, the equality of those who are all concluded under sin, and who are called to be partakers of the same redemption, the equality of those who are clothed in the righteousness of Christ, the equality of those who only differ in that He gives to them as He wills of His own, the equality of those among whom the greatest is as the least, and the least as the greatest. There too, and there alone, we find true Fraternity, the brotherhood of those who are called to pray to the same Heavenly Father, the brotherhood of those whose Elder Brother has sat down at the right hand of

His Father and their Father, the brotherhood of those whom He has commanded to love one another with the same infinite love wherewith He loved us. One hardly knows which is more amazing, the ignorance of those who fancied that it was reserved for the French Revolution to summon the world to Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity; or the blindness and stupour of those who could fall down and worship these huge, glaring impostures, when the blessed realities had been set before mankind for more than seventeen hundred years in their heavenly purity and majesty.

It would be easy to point out other bloated parodies of Christian ideas, which have been brought forward by the apostles of the Revolution, such, for instance, as the declaration that all men are now to be made kings, not by the writing of the royal law of liberty on their hearts, but by the rejection and subversion of all law and of all authority. So again it has been blasphemously proclaimed that the Resurrection attained for the first time to its fulfilment in the convocation of the National Assembly (x). But the time admonishes me to conclude. I cannot do so however, without saying a few words on the duties which these awful events impose upon us Englishmen, and especially on us, the ministers of Christ's Church in this singularly favoured land.

Our first duty, every heart must needs reply, is deep thankfulness to God, who has again so wonderfully preserved us in peace and tranquillity, while the whole fabric of society has been shaken and convulst in the other chief nations of Europe. For assuredly we cannot ascribe our preservation to any superior wisdom, or to any extraordinary virtues, in ourselves. When we consider what

poor returns we have made for the many precious talents committed to us, how faithless and negligent we have been as a nation in doing God's work,—when we think of the sins and of the distress with which the whole land is overrun, distress yawning fearfully by the side of the utmost riches and luxury,—when we think how little has yet been done to heal and remove the sufferings of the people, and how those sufferings, if not caused, are frightfully aggravated by selfish carelessness and reckless covetousness, by each man's seeking his own, no matter at what cost to his brethren,—we may well marvel at our exemption from the disasters which have befallen our neighbours; and we should exclaim in penitent adoration, *Not to us Lord, not to us, but to Thy name be the glory and the praise, for Thy mercy's sake.*

But have we any reasonable ground for hoping that this exemption will continue? We know how unstable and frail is the basis on which a large part of our prosperity rests, how the very highth to which we have mounted exposes us to greater falls, to more sudden and violent reverses, how mere caprices of fashion will reduce thousands and tens of thousands in a moment to the brink of starvation. On what then can we rely for the continuance of our safety? On God's mercy? But that will not be shewn forth unceasingly toward those who abuse it, toward those who are not stirred by it to repentance and to reformation. Or shall we rely on our Constitution, on the institutions which we have inherited from our ancestors? It is true, they are of inestimable value in many ways, above all, in the formation of our national character. We have long been wont to regard our Constitution, our political institutions, as incomparably the best

that the wisdom of man has ever devised for any nation on earth; and this our judgement has been confirmed by that of the wisest statesmen in other lands, and by the voice of the nations striving blindly and rashly to grasp on a sudden at something like that which has grown up amongst us in the course of centuries. Yet institutions and a constitution of themselves will not preserve us, unless the spirit which gave birth to them, and has gradually moulded and adapted them to the wants of the people, is still living and dwelling in us. For institutions, even the best, may become dead; and nothing will breed or foster and perpetuate life, except that which has life in it.

Two centuries have now rolled by, since Milton spoke of the peculiar privilege, which had been granted to England, of leading the way in great moral and social and religious reformations. Two hundred years ago, he whose heart and imagination seem to have glowed above those of other men with a fervid admiration and love of England, exhorted and admonisht her, in his own grand words, *Let not England forget her precedence of teaching nations how to live.* “Who (he asks) was it but our English Constantine, that baptized the Roman Empire? Who, but the Northumbrian Willibrode, and Winifride of Devon, with their followers, were the first Apostles of Germany? Who, but Alcuin and Wickliff, our countrymen, opened the eyes of Europe, the one in arts, the other in religion?” If we call to mind what homage has been paid, since the time of Milton, in foreign countries to the peculiar forms of our Constitution, what a number of attempts have been made to copy our principal institutions,—our Parliament, our Habeas Corpus

Act, our Trial by Jury,—often without reflexion that institutions lose the main part of their worth, unless they are duly assimilated to the rest of the body politic,—we cannot but recognise still that such a precedence has indeed been marvellously vouchsafed to us. But this precedence, like every other privilege, entails its corresponding duties; and weighty, and solemn, and arduous they are; while our position itself must needs increase the ignominy of neglecting them. Still therefore in these days do we need the voice of Milton to cry out to us, *Let not England forget her precedence of teaching nations how to live.* The vanguard must not slumber at their post. If we are to be the pioneers of the moral and political and social civilization of Europe, we must keep on advancing continually forward.

I spoke just now of the three words which are the idols of the French Republic; and I called them chaff. But nobody sows any seed with the purpose of its bringing forth chaff. Even an idol too bears witness that he who worships it has a yearning after something to worship. Grossly as the true ideas of Liberty and Equality and Fraternity have been corrupted in this modern mimicry, this mimicry itself attests that there is a strong, though blind, yearning and craving after the realities which are thus mimickt. These true ideas, I have said, are set before us in the Gospel; and the realities are to be found wherever the Gospel exercises its healing, fructifying power, but nowhere else. Moreover, as these spiritual ideas, through the might of the Gospel, become moral realities, so are there political and social realities in some measure answering to them. The latter are in the main the produce of the former: nor will they be found in any

sort of eminence, where the moral and spiritual realities are wanting, or where they are decaying. Thus the political and social wellbeing of a nation bears a close analogy and proportion to its moral and spiritual wellbeing.

In England, through the Providence which has overruled the history of our Constitution, we have been allowed to enjoy the first of these prime social and political blessings in higher excellence perhaps than any other people. Individually, socially, and politically, we are more free than other nations; because no people has ever had so clear and strong a practical conviction that true Liberty is not only compatible with, but imperatively requires a full subjection and subordination to Law; wherefore the more complete and spontaneous this subordination is, the more perfect will be our Liberty. So that there is still much to be done, in order to render this subjection in all parts of the land a willing subjection, much in the way of persuasion and instruction, divers things in modifications of our laws and institutions, to bring them into more entire accordance with the reasonable will of the nation.

In like manner, while we make no attempt to overthrow the order of Nature and of society, whereby diversities of gifts and faculties and qualities and attributes are found to prevail universally, the principle of our Constitution, which has been working itself out during a course of centuries, and divesting itself of whatever militated against it, is, that all men are equal in the eyes of the law, and moreover that every profession, every office, up to the highest in the State, is open to every Christian Englishman. Nevertheless we know too

well that enormous inequalities of many kinds exist in England,—not merely such as belong legitimately to a well-ordered polity, in which, as in its heavenly prototype, there are many mansions,—inequalities which are not created by the laws, and which the laws cannot remedy, but which have sprung from one form or other of the lust of concupiscence, and which in the sight of God often amount to iniquities.

For these inequalities the only efficient remedy lies in the spirit of Christian Fraternity, in the spirit which enables us to feel that, whatever possession, whatever privilege we may have, we have not for ourselves, but for those who need it, and that the one true blessing attacht to wealth, of whatsoever kind, is the blessedness of giving. This Fraternity cannot be the creature of laws and institutions. They may cherish it, or afford facilities for it: but, inasmuch as it is a form of Love, it can only spring from the heart. Nay, it never has sprung, nor ever can spring, except from a heart renewed by Christian Faith and Love. Other forms of love may have a root in our natural affections, and may rise in no small vigour from thence. Of this form our natural affections take no note; and many of our natural appetites militate against it. Now what can we say of England in this respect? Can we say that anything like true Fraternity is generally prevalent amongst us? Among those whose hearts are swayed by Christian Grace it does prevail. But does it among the bulk of the nation? Can we assert that there is no truth in the common complaint, that the differences of rank are nowhere more obtrusive and galling than in England?

Now this is a main part of England's appointed task,

if she would not forfeit her glorious prerogative, if she desires to retain her precedence of teaching nations how to live. She must regard it as one of her first duties, and make it one of her primary aims, to realize those grand ideas, for the realizing of which the heart of man is now restlessly craving, of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. She must endeavour to realize them more and more, in all the relations of life, political, social, moral, spiritual. As she has been allowed to lead the way in realizing the idea of true political Liberty, and at least to assert the principle of true political Equality, so must she strive to advance continually in the completer carrying out of these ideas, and to perfect and crown her work, by animating all her institutions, and harmonizing all the relations of life, with the spirit of Christian Fraternity. And when I say that this is the duty of England, I mean that it is the duty of every Englishman, according to the means and opportunities with which God has supplied him for the work. It is the duty of the peer; and it is the duty of the peasant. It is the duty of the merchant and manufacturer; and it is the duty of the artisan. It is the duty of the farmer; and it is the duty of the husbandman. It is the duty of the layman; and it is the duty of the clergyman. Everybody has an appointed field of action and influence; and in that field he ought to look upon himself as God's appointed minister for this work.

To us, my Reverend Brethren, is especially assigned the spiritual part of the work. This is the most important of all, not merely in itself, but also as the only living principle and source of all the rest. We are especially ordained to call men to that truth, which will make

them free,—to admonish them of their equality in God's sight, both as lying under the same sentence of condemnation, and as invited to partake in the same blessed redemption; and we are to tell them continually of their Heavenly Father, of their adoption as His children, of their Brotherhood in Christ Jesus, of their being members one of another, so that, if one member suffers, all members ought to suffer, if one member rejoices, all ought to share in his joy. In fact what is the modern Trinity, thus parodied by the Revolution, even in its best form, except a narrow, superficial expression for the blessed Trinity of Christian Graces, Faith, Hope, and Love. By Faith, and only by Faith, receiving the Truth, do we become free from sin, and from the bondage of the world. Through Hope we are citizens of the heavenly Jerusalem, where all distinctions will pass away; for all will dwell in the presence of God, and in the light of the Lamb. And as it is by the love of God, that we, who were aliens from Him, are called to be His children, so through the same love we are no longer aliens and enemies to each other, but friends and brethren; as a symbol of which, whenever a minister of Christ preaches to a congregation, though he may be personally a total stranger to them, though he may never before have set eyes on any one of them, though they may have been separated from him by half the globe, by race, language, customs, colour, he still calls them his brethren.

These duties belong to us at all times, under every aspect of the world and of the Church. But they are forced upon us still more impressively in times of trouble and trial. And that which we are to preach and to teach, we ought also to shew forth in our lives. In these days

we are called more urgently than ever to live a life of Faith, and of Hope, and of Love. Outward strength may fail us: wealth, dignity, learning, the power we may derive from ancient institutions and political supports,—all these may crumble under our feet. But these three cannot fail: Faith, Hope, Love abide and stand fast for ever. The spirit which animated the Archbishop of Paris, ought to live in every one of us,—and so much the more, inasmuch as through God's mercy we have received the faith of Christ in greater purity. We ought all to be equally ready to go forth for the assertion of every divine truth, whatever hosts of enemies the world may marshal against it; and we should ever act under the conviction, that he who would follow the example of the good Shepherd, is to give his life,—and, if so, of course every lesser gift and faculty and possession,—for his Master's sheep. Moreover let me add, recurring for a moment to the former part of this Charge, that, if we are to preach Fraternity to others, we are especially bound to shew it forth among ourselves: and while we seek to attain to Christian Liberty, we must guard, in the spirit of St Paul, against every thought and act which would violate that Liberty in our brethren (y).

The number of momentous subjects on which I have had to speak today, has compelled me to detain you so long, that I must needs omit the exhortation I am wont to address to you, my friends, who are come as Churchwardens to this Visitation. Indeed what I have already been saying about the duty of every Englishman in these times of trial, concerns you, as well as my brother Clergy. You too are especially called in these times to cultivate and promote Christian Liberty,

Christian Equality, and Christian Fraternity, in all your relations with your neighbours, above all with the labourers whom God has placed under your care. Let every labourer, every man, woman, and child in your parishes, feel that you regard them as your equals before God, as your brethren in Christ. Treat them as brothers; love them as brothers. Your parishes will be bright and blessed spots in the land, if you do. Your labourers will be blessed; but the chief blessing will be that which returns into your own bosoms. And here let me just remind you, that this is the very reason why year after year I have so earnestly exhorted you to get rid of the pews in your Churches; because they are adverse to Christian Equality, and to Christian Fraternity; because they pamper vain distinctions and divisions, and separate us from our brethren, where we ought especially to be united as the members of one body.

To you, to us, to all who love England, and desire that she should not lose her glorious precedence of teaching nations how to live, the events of the present year come with solemn exhortation and warning. When the funeral bell tells us that the spirit of a brother has departed from the earth, it should also remind us of our own sure portion, and admonish us to prepare for it. In like manner the bell, which this year has been continually tolling the destruction of thrones and empires, should remind us also that the throne and empire of England, her wealth, her power, her orderly social state, with all the untold blessings of family life, and friendly intercourse, and manly enterprise, and intellectual activity and enjoyment, which spring from it, have no principle of immortality in them, — that they too may fall and be

confounded with the wreck of other nations. Therefore it admonishes us all, that we are each and all bound to do everything that in us lies, to preserve and uphold the State of England, each according to the means and opportunities granted to him,—to cast out whatever has the seeds of death in it, and to infuse, to propagate, and to foster whatever has the principle of life and immortality (z). We are to do this primarily in ourselves, and next in whatever sphere of action God has appointed for us. Then may it come to pass, that, as the bell, which tolls the funeral knell, has often to change its note, and ring the joyous marriage-peal,—yea, as the funeral bell itself, when it tolls the death of a saint, announces the marriage of his spirit to the Heavenly Bridegroom,—so will these funeral bells, which have been tolling the ruin of Kingdoms and Churches, prepare the Church and People of England for the Marriage-feast of the Lamb.

N O T E S.

NOTE A : p. 6.

MY Letter to the Dean of Chichester has been the subject of severe animadversions, especially in a Pamphlet by a person calling himself "a Cambridge Tutor," and in a series of long, elaborate Articles in *the British Magazine*. Of course I was prepared for this. I did not take up my pen on that occasion without counting the cost. But I have not found anything material in the arguments urged against me, which requires any addition to what has been said in the Postscript to the second Edition of that Letter; and I am unwilling to revive an irksome, never-ending controversy on minute points of detail. Nor should I have made this slight allusion to my assailants, except that the writer in *the British Magazine* tries to shew that I myself have been guilty of the sin, with which I have charged the impugnors of the Bampton Lectures, by garbling my extracts from them. Had I done so, such an act would be doubly reprehensible in me. But his main ground for the accusation is, that, in quoting a long passage, several parts of which I omitted, "there are no *dots*, or marks of omission" (p. 530). The reply to this is very simple. The omissions are denoted, not by *dots*, but by *dashes*. My accuser indeed says, "the *dashes* would hardly be supposed to have that intention." Yet I know not why, if such be an ordinary mode of designating omissions. So far as my observation has extended, it is the most usual one; though it may be that I have been led to adopt it by its continual occurrence in Niebuhr's Roman History; the precision of that writer, and his reluctance to swell out his notes, making him merely quote those words from the passages he refers to, which bear

directly on the inference he wishes to draw from them. Whether dots or dashes are the commonest mode adopted nowadays by English printers for designating omissions, I know not; nor is it worth while to enquire. At all events the latter are still not unfrequent; and that they were in use two hundred years ago, appears from Milton's *Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing*, where, complaining of the licensers, he says: "If the work of any deceast author, though never so famous in his life-time, and even to this day, comes to their hands for license to be printed or reprinted, if there be found in his book one sentence of a venturous edge, uttered in the highth of zeal, (and who knows whether it might not be the dictate of a divine spirit?) yet not suiting with every low, decrepit humour of their own, though it were Knox himself, the Reformer of a kingdom, that spake it, they will not pardon him *their dash*."

It is so difficult to attain to complete accuracy in such minute points of typography, that the dash by which I meant to mark an omission, may here and there have been left out by the printer, though I am not aware of it. This however is not garbling a quotation. Garbling involves an intentional misrepresentation of the passage quoted, mostly one injurious to the writer, though in my case it would have been otherwise,—a misrepresentation, which, by leaving out certain words, twists the meaning of the passage into something different from the author's purpose. Such an act is a sin against truth, which I have not wittingly committed, and which my opponent, with all his efforts, has not convicted me of. My omissions are of such words as did not seem to bear on the immediate argument for which the passage was quoted, mostly of words which had no significance with reference to any part of the controversy. In a very few cases, it may be, the words omitted might have appeared to call for a separate elucidation. My purpose however was not to write a commentary on every questionable expression in the Bampton Lectures. It was merely to shew that the extracts brought forward, as grounds for the proceedings against the author, gave an erroneous representation of his views,

in a word, that they were garbled. Even as it was, I was under the necessity of making a number of long quotations; and I gladly embraced every opportunity, that I could conscientiously, of curtailing them.

NOTE B: p. 7.

In the discussion which took place in the House of Lords on this subject in February last, the Bishop of St David's, according to the Report in *the Times*, said, that "his right rev. friend (the Bishop of Exeter) had spoken, as if the power which had hitherto been exercised in substance by the Crown, had been an absolute and irresponsible power.—His right rev. friend had forgotten this very important feature in the case, that, when the Crown exercised this power, it was strictly limited as to the object selected for nomination. It was not a power to nominate anybody whom the Crown might think proper: but it was a power limited to a certain known class of persons, who in the eyes of the law were equally well qualified to be the object of nomination. His right rev. friend—had made much too great a distinction between the inferior and superior orders in the Church: he appeared at the moment to have forgotten that there was no ulterior qualification required for the functions of a Bishop, which was not equally required for the functions of a Presbyter. The qualifications required for the Presbyter, and which fitted the Presbyter for the after functions of a Bishop, were the main qualifications: all others were secondary, and comparatively immaterial."

This is an important observation, and quite conclusive as an answer to a case suggested by some alarmists, that, if the power of the Crown were to be exercised without any sort of check, it might nominate a Jew or a Mahometan. Still there is no absolute warrant in the previous ordination, that every person who is ordained Priest will be qualified for the Priesthood. Even with the utmost vigilance on the part of the ordaining Bishops, unworthy candidates may gain admission. Moreover, during the long period

which mostly intervenes before a Priest is raised to the Episcopate, disqualifications, unknown at the time of his ordination, may have become notorious. His life may have been openly immoral; or his opinions, as we have seen happen in so many lamentable instances of late, though previously in unison with the doctrines of our Church, may have diverged from them, whether toward Romanism, or toward Rationalism and Socinianism. Now surely it is not unreasonable to demand, that the Church should have some legal security that a person thus disqualified shall not be placed among her rulers. Nay, the need of such a security is greatly heightened, now that the Prime Minister will no longer be necessarily a member of her body, but may be a Dissenter, a Unitarian, a Romanist, or perchance, ere long, a Jew. This security would be afforded by those very forms, which have just been proved to be nullities, if they were but allowed to become realities. That they were originally intended to be so, is plain, without our entering into a historical demonstration to prove it: for no forms are ever set up in the first instance with the purpose of being empty and powerless. They were meant to have force, however they may have lost it. Nor would the revivifying of those forms invest the Archbishop, as has been contended, with a *вето* on the appointments of the Crown. For the nominee of the Crown would only be rejected in a case where there was decisive legal evidence of his unfitness. The Archbishop would not act discretionally, but judicially, somewhat in the same manner in which a Bishop at present may refuse to institute a priest to a living, when he can shew valid cause for his refusal. But in fact the very existence of such a security would almost ensure its never being called into activity, by preventing the Minister of the Crown from nominating a person whose nomination could be called in question. Vexatious objections, such as were offered in one at least of the recent cases, might be dismissed summarily.

NOTE C: p. 10.

The great importance of having regular forms for Trust-deeds, to prevent the evils which would result from carelessness in the mode of drawing them up, is forcibly urged by Mr Henry Wilberforce, in his *Letter to Sir R. Inglis*; though the purpose of that Letter is to impugn the Clauses proposed by the Privy Council. After saying that hitherto the working of our schools "has not in most instances been very materially affected" by the provisions in the Trust-deeds, he adds: "But it were most imprudent to assume that this state of things will be permanent. Daily experience assures us that few legal deeds are operative until after many years. Deeds of marriage settlement are now as general as the marriage of those who have any property; and how few of them are ever consulted, as long as the lives and mutual harmony of the married pair continue!—But should discord and separation arise, or should one or both die, it is changed at once from a dead letter, a mere form, to a living and active law.—Need I add, that, if such a deed contains any inconvenient or unjust provisions, any obscurities or defects,—many years will usually elapse before their existence is suspected? It is when change of circumstances makes a deed important, that its practical tendency is for the first time tested.—Now the Trust-deeds of our schools are strictly their deeds of settlement. We have not yet seen how they will work, whenever circumstances shall arise which shall call them into practical operation. And that such circumstances will arise, and perhaps very speedily, I hold to be unquestionable. It is not merely that, as the original managers pass away, we must look to the Deed to settle by whom they shall be succeeded; but already much has happened to involve the question. Popular education has hitherto been a neglected subject; at this moment all parties are exerting themselves to wipe off this reproach. I heartily rejoice at the movement: may it continue and extend! Still we must not reckon upon the advantages which result from this increased attention, together with the quietness of neglect. Alexander

Selkirk would have been glad of neighbours ; but he could no longer have said, *I am monarch of all I survey*. As population increast, he would have found the need of fences, fences moral as well as physical, of title-deeds as well as hedges. In this point of view, the new Minutes of Council have greatly increast the importance of the deeds by which the government of our Church schools must be regulated.—To nominate a master to a school, in which he will hardly obtain daily bread by daily labour,—this cannot be esteemed an enviable act of patronage.—But the office of a master is to be raised. He is to be an educated person : he is to be placed above want : he is to enjoy the prospect of a retiring pension.—Can it be doubted that, as soon as this change is effected, the appointment of the schoolmaster will be regarded as a desirable piece of patronage ? The controll of the school will become an object of ambition. Men who delight to figure in parish vestries, will be no less rejoiced to see their names on school-committees.—Under these circumstances Trust-deeds will no longer be a dead letter. Men will enquire, in whom is legally vested the nomination of the Master, the controll and visitation of the school. Our school-deeds will then be tried ; we shall see whether they are valid or invalid, whether they secure anything at all, whether those, who, with great public benefit, and great personal sacrifice, now direct our schools, may or may not be excluded by others who desire personal importance or valuable patronage. I think it is certain that, before long, these deeds will become important documents” (pp. 15—17). In this conviction I fully participate ; and for this very reason, it seems to me, we owe our thanks to the Committee of Council, for having taken the trouble to provide certain forms, whereby the mischievous effects of ill-constructed Trust-deeds may be precluded. This question is distinct from those which relate to the particular provisions of the proposed forms ; and on this preliminary point, I trust, almost all persons who have considered the matter are now agreed.

It has been a great satisfaction to me to find that the view which I have taken through all our discussions on this point, is

confirmed by the excellent Bishop of Salisbury in his recent Charge, pp. 13—15. “On the best consideration,—I am bound to say that it does not appear to me either unreasonable that the State should require a certain constitution of management for schools as the condition of its grants, or injurious to the Church to acquiesce in such a condition, but rather the contrary. I am not now speaking of any specific management clauses, the character of which is a subsequent consideration, but of the general question, whether the imposition of any clauses at all should be resisted by the members of the Church. And as to this I am clearly of opinion, both that the State is entitled to the security thus given as to the manner of the application of its funds; and that the Church, far from sustaining any injury thereby, would, in fact, find in the settlement of such terms protection and security. The State has, I think, a right to expect that some terms of management should be defined; because, when considerable sums of money are to be applied from the public funds for the establishment and maintenance of schools, it is reasonable to require that the schools be constituted on such a basis as to give security for the permanence of their character as public institutions, not liable to be affected by the fluctuations of individual caprice. Those who refuse all recognition of this right, and who require that all parties should be allowed to claim a share in the public money, and at the same time to constitute their schools according to their individual fancies, appear to me to take up a ground incapable of being maintained in dispassionate argument, and which I hope the members of the Church generally will not be disposed to adopt. And this the rather, because the settlement of well-considered terms upon which grants shall be made, is, in fact, a security to the Church against that very aggression which is the subject of apprehension. If the constitution of the school is left in each individual case to be settled by discussion between its local promoters and the Committee of Council, it is easy to see how great a power would come to be exercised by this latter body, even though the right of compulsion were formally withheld. Should those who are

entrusted with the distribution of the public funds be at any time disposed to use the power in their hands for the promotion of any particular object, far more opportunity for this would be given by negociations in detail with the local promoters of each particular school, often little acquainted with the general bearings of the propositions submitted to them, under the influence of hope and fear, not to say, subject to the constraint of their necessities, than is afforded by the deliberate discussion of terms beforehand with an independent body, such as the Committee of the National Society. It is true that, in the earlier stages of the administration of these funds, no such conditions were laid down; and it is also the case that, in previous negociations between the Committee of the National Society and the Committee of Council, the former body have expressed a wish for the continuance of the same freedom; but experience and consideration have, I believe, produced a general conviction in the minds of the members of the Committee of the National Society, that such a demand is neither reasonable nor safe; and that, if the terms themselves be well considered, the necessity of their adoption is not an unsuitable condition in order to the reception of a grant from the public funds."

The same line of argument was taken by the Bishop of Oxford in his speech at the Meeting of the National Society, and by Mr Gladstone, when the question was discussed in the House of Commons. Hence I trust that the very unreasonable cry for leaving every one to do as he likes will now die away. Until we attain to that perfect love, which, being one with true wisdom, will ever fulfill the law, we need the help of the law at every step to keep us from erring at once against wisdom and against love.

NOTE D: p. 13.

The Secretary of the National Society in a letter to the Secretary of the Committee of Council on Education, dated May 12, 1846, states that "the Committee of the National Society

are prepared to concur with the Committee of Council in recommending the Clauses to applicants for aid, it being understood that the applicants may select the Clause most adapted to their own case." It is true, he had previously said, that "the Committee of the National Society are desirous that the promoters of education throughout the country should have the same liberty of choice as to the constitution of their Schools, which has hitherto been conceded to them both by the Committee of Council and the National Society." It seems to me however, on the grounds urged in the Charge, and in the preceding Note, that this desire was unreasonable, and that the Committee of Council were quite right in disregarding it, though it was repeated in a letter from the late President of the National Society in November of the same year. Indeed it appears from the Correspondence between the two Committees, as publisht in the last *Monthly Paper* of the National Society, that the Committee of that Society have themselves changed their opinion on this point. For in their letter, dated the 5th of last July, they state that "Experience has convinced the Committee of the National Society, that it is important,—that the conditions on which the Parliamentary grants are made should be fixt and definite, in order to avoid negotiations, which individuals are often not well qualified to conduct, at once from their position as applicants for aid, and because their want of familiarity with all the bearings of the subject, as well as other causes, has, in many instances, led, sometimes to imprudent concessions, and sometimes to demands at variance with the real objects of the applicants themselves."

As to the liberty of selecting among the Clauses, it is plain, both from the Correspondence already cited, and from the *Official Letters relative to the Management Clauses* publisht by authority of the Privy Council, that the Committee of Council were always ready to concede this liberty to a considerable extent, where a valid claim for it could be made out. In many cases, as the Clauses were drawn up with special reference to Parishes under widely different circumstances, the transfer of them would have been an absurdity ; for instance, the application of the Clause drawn up

for "very small rural parishes" to a parish like Brighton or Marylebone.

I have mentioned the dates of the Letters from the National Society, because one main ground of the complaints and irritation against the Committee of Council has been the notion that their conduct in enforcing the Clauses has not been open and straightforward. Such a notion, with reference to such a body, could hardly have sprung up, except where a strong prejudice was already existing. From the dates just referred to, we see that the Committee of the National Society was acquainted with the Clauses on the 12th of May 1846; and the documents printed among the *Official Letters* prove that they were the subject of a negotiation between the two Committees in the course of that year. Yet Mr Wilberforce, whose Letter to Sir R. Inglis bears date June 1st, 1847, says (p. 19): "The Committee of Council have suffered the Church to go on *to the present moment* wholly unconscious that any change has even been contemplated:" and, then, after trying to shew that they cannot have weighed the importance of the innovation, he adds: "I cannot but derive some satisfaction from this consideration; because it enables me to believe that the measure, perhaps somewhat indiscreetly urged forward by the overhasty zeal of some subordinate authority, has not yet received the full consideration of their Lordships.—Could I think otherwise, I must most sincerely lament that the Administration of England should have adopted, upon a subject so momentous as the education of the people of England, *a course of proceeding which an opponent would stigmatize as stealthy and underhand.*" So again the Reviewer of that Letter, in the *Christian Remembrancer* for July 1847, in an Article which puts the worst construction on every measure of the Privy Council, says (p. 161): "*The underhand and irregular way in which this new condition has been imposed, appears sufficiently in this simple fact, that there is no public accessible document, of any sort or kind, which makes the smallest allusion to it. It has absolutely no existence except in the letters of Mr Kay Shuttleworth, the Committee's*"

Secretary, to this or that individual clergyman, who may happen to have obtained a grant of money for his school. The condition is only known to the individual: the Church, as a body, knows nothing about it." Where such statements found credence, one cannot wonder that a good deal of indignation was excited. But, though the authors of them did not intend to misrepresent the facts, the true state of the case was very different. From the series of letters now publisht, it appears, (*Monthly Paper* p. 11,) that the Committee of Council began in 1845, under the late President, to recommend certain forms of Trust-deeds to applicants for aid. The late President, I have been informed, was strongly urged to bring the matter before the House of Lords, for the sake of obtaining a definite decision on the point, but deferred doing so, probably from wishing to ascertain beforehand experimentally what forms would be best suited to the varying circumstances of particular parishes. In the following year, 1846, the forms recommended by the Committee of Council came under the notice of the Committee of the National Society; and a correspondence, interrupted by the change of Ministry, ensued between the two Committees, in which the Committee of the National Society declared themselves prepared to recommend the Clauses to applicants for aid, under the limitations already spoken of. In September of the same year, the Committee of Council, after adopting an alteration suggested by that of the National Society, state their desire, "that no doubt should exist that the National Society are prepared to employ their influence with the promoters of parochial schools, on all occasions, to procure the adoption of the Clauses:" and they are answered by a repetition of the same declaration, though with the same limitations. Thus the Clauses were a subject of negotiation in 1846 with the Committee of the National Society, which has long acted as the organ of the Church in matters pertaining to education, and which declared itself prepared to recommend them to applicants for aid. Surely this was the proper mode of communicating these Clauses to the Church, until the publication of the Minute, which was of course deferred till the permanent

form of the Clauses was conceived to be determined. The long and tangled discussions which have arisen in settling that form, shew how injudicious it would have been to have issued a minute without such a negotiation: and what complaints would have been vociferated against the arrogance of the Committee of Council in laying down such rules so hastily and inconsiderately, without consulting the only persons qualified to pronounce an opinion on the proper government of Church-schools! As it was, the Committee of Council might well assume that the Clergy who applied to them for aid, would have been apprised of the Clauses by the National Society, who had promised to recommend them. Surely such words as *stealthy* and *underhand* are wholly out of place in reference to this conduct.

I should hold indeed that grants made anterior to the negotiation with the National Society ought not to have been withheld in consequence of a refusal to adopt the Clauses. Whether this happened in any particular case through inattention or mistake, I know not. In that of his own Parish, Mr Wilberforce says (p. 21), "the Committee of Council, after some correspondence, conceded the points for which the local Committee felt it their duty to contend."

NOTE E: p. 16.

A wish was expressed at the Visitation, that I should introduce a few sentences on the benefits which the lay members of the Church would derive from taking a more active part in her various works. One reason for my not dwelling on this topic in my Charge, though I am deeply impressed with its importance, was, that I have often brought it forward prominently on former occasions; for instance, in my Visitation Sermon, *Christ's Promise the Strength of the Church*, pp. 342—345, in my first Charge, *the Better Prospects of the Church*, pp. 24—30, and in Note A to my second Charge, *Privileges imply Duties*.

Here I will only add one remark. The staple argument used in behalf of the Game-Laws is, that they supply an

inducement for the great landed proprietors to reside on their estates. What must be the worth of a cause, which is upheld by such an argument! What must be the character of landed proprietors, who need such an inducement! Nay, what, in times like these, must be their condition! Must they not be on the very verge of extinction? if, with all the healthful and useful and delightful occupations enjoined upon them by the duties consequent on the possession of landed property,—by the duties of cultivating their lands, and all their varied produce, vegetable and animal, and of leading the way in all manner of agricultural improvements, so that the soil of England may be fitted for supporting its ever-multiplying population,—and by the duties of employing their manifold means of wealth and influence for bettering the physical and moral condition of the people on their estates, who by the very tenure of those estates are committed by God to their special charge,—if, with all these solemn duties, with all these blessed means and opportunities of salutary and beneficent action, they can find no motive, no pleasure, no inducement for living on their estates, unless they are allowed to sink their human, moral nature into the similitude of beasts of prey. It may be that this similitude may allowably occupy a part in the microcosm, man. But that it should occupy the chief part in any man! in any class of men! and that these men should be called the aristocracy! History never presented a more glaring instance of her bitter irony. In days like these, when it would seem that God were coming to judge the nations, one might think that such an aristocracy would surely be doomed; were it not that, through His mercy there are better and nobler spirits amongst them, men who know their duties, and love them, and prize them as their highest blessings. God be praised that such men seem to be increasing in number every year! May they still continue to increase! Else the righteous sentence will ere long go forth, that they who reject the duties attacht to their lands, shall have their lands taken from them, that they who choose to be mere Esaus, shall forfeit their birthright and their blessing.

NOTE F: p. 18.

The correspondence in which this negotiation has been carried on, has just been published in the *Monthly Paper* above referred to; and from the exceedingly conciliatory spirit shewn by the Committee of Council, in complying with the requests addressed to them by the Committee of the National Society, I trust that the matter will soon be brought to a satisfactory settlement. At present the only point of difference seems to relate to the question of appeals from the decision of School-committees.

The original Clauses, if a difference arises in any Parish between the Minister and the rest of the Committee respecting the religious instruction of the scholars, grant an appeal to the Bishop of the Diocese, whose decision is to be "final and conclusive." In a letter from the Secretary to the Bishop of Ripon, published among the *Official Letters*, it is stated (p. 19) that "the correct interpretation of the power given to the Bishop—gives the Diocesan the authority to exclude any book against the use of which an appeal should be made on religious grounds, if that book were found by him to be inconsistent with the doctrine of the Church;" and further, that, "if the teaching of the Master or Mistress were regarded by any member of the Committee as inconsistent with the doctrine of the Church, and that member appealed to the Bishop, the decision of the Diocesan would on this point also be final."

On the other hand, in consequence of a request from the Committee of the National Society in April last that an appeal be provided "in case of differences upon all other points, besides those involving the moral and religious instruction of the scholars, and in particular upon the selection, appointment, and dismissal of the schoolmaster and schoolmistress and their assistants," the Committee of Council, after some correspondence, proposed, as a Board of Appeal for such cases, "that the Lord President of the Council shall nominate as one arbitrator an Inspector of Schools, appointed conformably to the Order in Council dated

10th August, 1840; that the Bishop of the Diocese shall nominate a second arbitrator from among the Clergy of his Diocese; and that these two arbitrators shall in each case select a third person to act with them, being a magistrate and lay member of the Church of England." A provision is added in case the first two arbitrators should not agree in the choice of a third; but the material point is the constitution of the Board of Appeal as already stated. There could not be a stronger proof of the conciliatory spirit with which the Committee of Council have acted throughout. For the Lord President, in the choice of the arbitrator he is to select, restricts himself to the body of Inspectors, who cannot be appointed without the concurrence of the Archbishop of the Province, and who are to be removed if that concurrence is withdrawn. Thus we have every security we can desire for the character of two of the arbitrators; and these two are to choose the third.

When such a Board of Appeal has been granted by the Committee of Council, along with the reservation of all questions relating to religious and moral instruction for the exclusive jurisdiction of the Bishop, it seems greatly to be deplored that the Committee of the National Society should have protracted the settlement of a negotiation, which has been beset with so much angry contention, by requesting that the local promoters of schools should be allowed, where a certain proportion of them wish it, to name the Bishop of the Diocese as arbitrator upon every point of difference. As the Committee of Council have definitively refused to comply with this request, I trust it will be withdrawn without hesitation at the next Meeting of the Committee of the National Society.

An impression has indeed arisen, since the publication of the Correspondence between the two Committees in the *Monthly Paper* of the National Society, that the negotiation has already failed and been broken off. This impression however, I conceive, has arisen solely from the accidental fact, that the correspondence, as there printed, terminates with the refusal of the Committee of Council to accede to the request concerning the exclusive

jurisdiction of the Bishop. Hence it has been inferred, somewhat precipitately, that the negotiation is finally closed: whereas the real state of the case is merely, that, the last Letter from the Committee of Council being dated the 30th of August, and there having been no meeting of the Committee of the National Society in September, that Letter has not yet been taken into consideration. But, as October was also to elapse before the latter Committee would reassemble, it was deemed expedient to publish the correspondence which had taken place, in order that the Church at large might know in what manner the negotiation has hitherto been carried on, and to what results it has led. The publication, I believe, has been very timely. Most persons who take an interest in the question, so far as I have had the means of judging, have had their views greatly modified by it; and many who once lookt with alarm at the Clauses, have been convinced that in their present state they will not only be unobjectionable, but beneficial. Indeed there is good reason to hope that ere long all judicious persons will concur in the views exprest by Mr Gladstone, according to the report of his speech in *the Times* for August 19th: "To the general principle of the composition of the Committees of Management he gave his most frank and cordial support.—If they succeeded in making an arrangement of the kind indicated, it would be accepted, not as a compromise, or a choice between greater and less evils; but a very great increase of valuable assistance would be given to the Church in the matter of education, and a very great benefit conferred on the whole of the people."

NOTE G: p. 19.

Those who congratulate themselves,—for there are some such persons,—on the notion that the negotiation with the Committee of Council has been broken off, will doubtless maintain that the rupture has not arisen from any jealousy of the Laity, but from a desire to uphold the exclusive rights of the Episcopate. In point of fact however this amounts to the same thing. It

is merely a transfer of the same feeling from the lower degree to the higher, an effort to assume for the Hierarchy, what can no longer be maintained for the lower orders of the Clergy. The Bishops themselves, I should conceive, would much rather be exempted from the decision of such thorny questions as may arise concerning the appointment or removal of school-masters and mistresses. Surely too a magistrate in the neighbourhood would have greater facilities for investigating such questions, at least in parishes remote from the cathedral city, and, if judiciously selected, would be quite as competent to do so. On these grounds it seems to me that the Committee of Council are bound to persist in their refusal, because they are asserting an important principle. In fact they are maintaining the cause of the Church, of the whole Church, against those who would sacrifice the rights of the Church to the Hierarchy.

The chief motive, which induced the Committee of the National Society to urge the request we have been considering,—it would seem from their letter of July 5th,—was, that “a strong desire had been expressed by many members of the Society to name, in their Trust-deeds, the Bishop of the Diocese as arbitrator upon any point of difference,” and that “this arrangement would appear to be considered by some as the only one under which they can conscientiously submit Church-schools to the controul of Committees formed under any of the Management Clauses.” But, though every conscientious scruple should be respected, so far that he who entertains it should not be subjected to any positive penalty or persecution, such merely personal scruples cannot well be taken into account in legislative enactments. In these we are to lay down what we conclude to be right, on the largest, fullest view of the matter under consideration, without regard to individual whims and delusions. By complying with such, we seldom even attain the end of satisfying and pacifying those who hold them. We must not humour a spoiled child: we only spoil him still more, if we do. The likelier course to correct him will be by firm, steady, straightforward conduct, without noticing his caprices. When the great body of

the Church have adopted the Management Clauses, and are experiencing their beneficial effects, the fanciful scruples, which usurp the name of conscientiousness, will vanish.

NOTE H : p. 20.

They who urge this argument forget that he who lays down a rule, binds himself primarily thereby. This is put very forcibly by the Bishop of Oxford, according to the report of his Speech in *the Ecclesiastical Gazette*. He is contending that, in having certain Clauses to regulate the management of Schools, "we get a safeguard for the Church in dealing with such a body as the Privy Council." For what, he asks, is the fact? "The fact is, that a number of schools in detail accept these Clauses without question, because they feel it of great importance to obtain money to build schools. What then is the Church to do? Is the Church to say, we will leave the question to be decided by the needy applicant for aid, in his particular parish, prest upon by a sense of the need of educating his children, hoping he shall be able to go in the right direction, trying to persuade himself that he gives up no principle? or ought we to say, we will see on what terms you can accept it, binding the Government on one side by these terms, and binding the management of the schools on the other, and thus affording protection against any possible abuses? This is the practical question."

After a careful examination of the whole Correspondence between the two Committees, it seems to me that there is no reason for hesitating to place full reliance in Lord John Russell's declaration in the House of Commons on the 18th of August, that "the Committee of Council have not the least wish to impose any terms which will give the Government further power of interference with these Schools."

NOTE I: p. 22.

In *the English Review* for June 1847, in an Article on the Educational Minutes of August and December 1846, the writer says (p. 419): "We confidently assert, that there is no person in any degree, whether theoretically or practically, conversant with the subject, but must welcome these regulations with that applause which they deserve, unless he be totally devoid either of candour or common sense. For our own part, we have no hesitation in declaring our mature conviction, that they are the very best which could possibly be produced to meet the circumstances of the case." Some sensible observations follow in pp. 425—427, on the great benefits which are likely to accrue to the English nation, and especially to the Church, from the regulations. The writer's object is to defend them against the Dissenters, and to shew the folly and sin of the Dissenters in impugning and rejecting them. Of course however his remarks will apply with still more force to the Church, who is to be the chief gainer by the regulations, if she allows anything less than an urgent duty and manifest necessity to draw her into breaking off that union and consort from which such blessings may fairly be expected.

NOTE J: p. 25.

The only objections I have heard of to this Bill, which appear to me of much weight, bear upon that portion of it which provides for a private investigation by the Bishop into the conduct of a Clerk under accusation. There are indeed many cases, which, it seems to me, would be best settled in such a manner, with an avoidance of much scandal and expense. The Act too provides that such proceedings shall not be instituted without the consent of the Clerk, and that sentence shall not be past upon him, unless "by some writing under his hand he confess the truth of the charge, and consent that the Bishop

shall forthwith pronounce sentence upon him." Still it is apprehended by many that fear of the Bishop, and of ulterior proceedings, would induce some Clerks to give their consent, even when they felt themselves innocent. I should hardly think such a case likely to occur in these days: but others are of a different opinion: and in such a matter one is especially bound to distrust one's own judgement.

NOTE K: p. 25.

The only thing like authentic information that has got abroad concerning the intended Test of Heresy, as it has been called, is contained in a letter from the Bishop of Exeter to the Archdeacon of Exeter, which was published, apparently by himself, in *the English Churchman*. In this letter it is stated, that, at a meeting of the Bishops, held the day before, to consider the *Clergy Offences Bill*, a Proviso was proposed to be added to the 3d Clause, enacting "that nothing shall be adjudged in any Court of this land to be heresy, or false or unsound doctrine, on any point treated of—in the xxxix Articles, that is not opposed to the doctrine of the Church of England, as there declared." This Proviso, it is further said, "was not adopted by the meeting of Bishops; but it was announced that such a Proviso will be moved in the course of the progress of the Bill through Parliament." As the other Bishops present took no public notice of this announcement, we may infer that they hoped, whatever they deemed objectionable in the Proviso might be removed by private discussions: for the Bishop of Exeter, in a second letter, written three days after, adds, "that the Proviso—was not proposed by any Bishop, as himself favouring it, but was laid before us in order that we might consider it, as it would certainly be moved in the progress of the Bill through Parliament." Or at all events they knew that it might be averted, as it actually was, by the dropping of the whole Bill. Probably too they were of opinion that the Church had already been sufficiently distracted by the previous controversies of last winter, one of which was still going on with some vehemence; and hence they

might be unwilling to throw in new matter of contention. But the Bishop of Exeter's well-known inflexible love of truth would not allow him to compromise it by any such pacific policy. As soon as he heard of the proposition, which was sure to kindle such a ferment in our Church, he immediately sent off a letter to the Archdeacons of his Diocese, publishing it at the same time to the whole Church through *the English Churchman*, in order that the Clergy might be roused to put forth all their energies in resisting this threatened anonymous innovation.

By the Clergy of the Diocese of Exeter, the letter of their Bishop would naturally be regarded as a sufficient ground to act upon. But it did not seem to me to be a ground for our adopting any measures in this Archdeaconry, so long as we were left without a similar intimation from our own Diocesan. I thought it would rather become us to wait until the proposition was actually brought forward in some definite form, that we might know what we had to apprehend and to contend against. For the very fact, that it had been laid before a meeting of the Bishops, seemed to imply that its author was desirous of consulting their opinions, and would probably be ready to be guided by them, if not in withdrawing, at least in modifying it. Hence, in my communications with the Clergy of this Archdeaconry, I strongly urged their abstaining from taking any step till we had more precise information concerning the measure which was to be submitted to the Legislature.

It may be replied indeed, that our prepossessions and prejudices in these days are so strong, as almost to unfit us for making use of the most precise information, even when we have it, and that therefore the vaguest serves just as well for us to form our judgements on. For instance, in a short article in *the British Magazine* for the month of May, subjoined to a reprint of the Bishop of Exeter's Letter, we find two objections urged against the announced Proviso,—first, that it would be very wrong to make the Thirty-nine Articles the legal Test of heresy, though they “may fairly be taken as a Test of erroneous and unsound doctrine;”—and secondly, that the measure would tend to lower the authority of the Creeds. From these objections one might suppose that the

objector can hardly have read the Proviso, its purport being that nothing shall be adjudged to be heresy, *or false or unsound doctrine*, but what is opposed to the Thirty-nine Articles; that is to say, heresy when it pertains to points on which error is deemed heretical, in other cases false or unsound doctrine. He would also seem to have forgotten that the Articles declare that the Three Creeds "ought thoroughly to be received and believed," a higher authority than they venture to claim for themselves. Besides many of the condemnners of the Proviso, one may infer from their arguments, must have overlookt that important limitation in it, that its purpose is not to constitute the Articles the sole Test of heresy, or false and unsound doctrine, but merely "on any point treated of in them;" on which, so far as they do pronounce, their decision would of course be held to express the judgement of our Church. So that the effect of the Proviso would probably be to leave our Ecclesiastical Law very much as it is already; since the practice of the Courts has ever been to take the Articles as the canon for determining what is heresy, or false and unsound doctrine, on any point treated of in them: and our other symbolical books would still be consulted as authoritative with a view to the right interpretation of the Articles.

The discussions which have arisen out of this controversy, may doubtless be useful in clearing men's minds on the subjects under debate. I am merely deprecating those public proceedings, by way of remonstrance or petition or address, which ought to follow, instead of preceding these discussions. Such proverbs as *Look before you leap* are valuable prudential maxims, of extensive application even in logic and morals. One should hardly have expected however that assemblies of Clergy would have needed such advice. But the dizzying speed and whirl of our railways seems even to have infected sober men with a desire of darting in a trice from the beginning to the end of their journey. In the proceedings of the rabble this is not surprising: but we have also seen a deliberative Assembly, supposed to contain the wisdom and prudence of the most cautious and considerate people on earth, condemn an armistice off-hand, without examining the negotiations

which led to it : and in this instance again the verdict of Philip drunk had to be reverst by Philip sober. May the Clergy at least learn from reiterated experience, if from nothing else, to beware of such precipitation ! The most terrible feature about the cholera is its suddenness ; and scarcely less pernicious are choleric decisions.

NOTE L : p. 26.

On these grounds I cannot but deplore that a large body of Clergy,—a number amounting, it is said, to seventeen hundred, and comprising a large proportion of the most zealous and devoted ministers in our Church,—should have signed a Petition calling upon the Legislature to pass some enactment equivalent to the Proviso spoken of in the last Note. Surely there is something very inconsiderate in such a Petition. Are the Petitioners willing to abide by whatsoever Parliament may choose to lay down concerning the doctrines of the Church? *No*, they will say: *we merely want them to decide in this one case as we bid them.* But they who call upon a tribunal to decide, thereby recognise the right of that tribunal to decide against them, as well as in their favour, and not in one instance merely, but in all similar ones ; and they preclude themselves from urging any objection against its authority. It was through such inconsiderate invitations and appeals, that the Papacy gained a large part of its exorbitant power. In the present matter the Petition is rumoured to have been occasioned by a particular case in which episcopal authority is supposed to have been abused. But, even assuming the abuse to have been flagrant, we have regular courts for the settlement of such questions, where the sentence will be preceded by a long and careful examination into its legal grounds. It betokens a morbid impatience, to turn away from these regular tribunals, and to call for a new law, when things are not going just as we wish.

A like impatience, no less deplorable, it seems to me, has been manifested this year in the Petition to Government to send a Commission to our Universities with a view to reforming their constitution and practice. Not that these are perfect, any more

than other human institutions. There are several things in the practice of my own, the one I am best acquainted with, which I earnestly desire to see changed. But what assurance have I, that a Commission appointed by Government would recommend the changes I wish for? It is far more probable that many of their recommendations would be in an opposite direction, adding, for example, fresh stimulants to emulation, which already is one of our chief banes. Nay, even if I had the power of determining their recommendations, I should deem it incomparably better that the alterations should be made by the voluntary act of the Universities themselves, by those who will have to carry them into effect. For that which we do willingly and on conviction, will ever be better done than what we do on compulsion. The true way of reforming a body is to labour to produce that conviction in them which will lead them to reform themselves. The arm of the Legislature should not be called in, *nisi dignus vindice nodus*: but, like bad playwrights, we call it in at every petty difficulty. While we prate about the omnipotence of truth, and boast that the wheels of the world are now to advance self-moved, like those in the prophetic vision, by in-dwelling intellect, not through the impulse of outward force, never has there been a year in which people have so perpetually called in force to effect what ought only to be effected, and can only be effected well, by intelligent conviction. In other words, every one wishes to impose his own will upon others; few place any trust in reason and right and truth.

There are several cases indeed in which the sanction of Parliament would be requisite, to give legal authority to changes in what is at present established by Act of Parliament. For instance, if any alterations were to be made in the Liturgy,—and there are some which almost everybody would admit to be exceedingly desirable,—these alterations would demand the confirmation of the Legislature. Nor could that shameful clause in the Caroline Act of Uniformity, by which the Puritans were expelled from our Church, be modified, as it ought to be, without a like sanction. This obligation follows from our connexion with the

state. The right course however for those who feel the need of any such changes, would be to petition for the summoning of a properly constituted Ecclesiastical Synod, which ought to be the chief agent in all measures affecting the constitution of the Church.

NOTE M : p. 30.

I have been grieved to meet with what I have here termed a *sophism*, and what, the more I examine it, only seems to me more palpably such, used by my dear and honoured friend, the Bishop of St David's. He is one of the persons with whom, as I have said in the Charge, it has been painful to me to find myself differing on this momentous subject. In former years, when we were living in an almost daily interchange of thoughts, and when my mind derived inestimable advantages from the fulness of his knowledge and the imperturbable calmness and clearness of his judgement, our opinions on this question, which was then brought forward by the late Sir Robert Grant, coincided; and I felt a greater confidence in the correctness of mine from its being confirmed by his. Of course there should be nothing surprising in a wise man's changing his views on sundry important points, more especially of practical policy, in a period of sixteen years. Rather would it be an indication of want of wisdom, if he did not. In his speech in the House of Lords, the Bishop appears to impute his former opinion to the influence of those prejudices which have ever been entertained against the Jews, more or less, in every branch of the Christian Church. But as I cannot trace mine to any such origin,—as on the contrary it seems to me integrally combined with the result of all my reflexions on history and political philosophy,—and as I cannot reconcile my recollection of my honoured friend's opinions on this or any other topic with the notion of their having sprung from prejudice, — I feel constrained to stay behind, where we both were in 1832.

The passage I refer to in the Bishop's Speech, as published by himself, stands in pp. 21, 22. Having stated that "the old principle of the Constitution was one of absolute exclusiveness,"

and that this principle "has been gradually relaxt, and at length absolutely discarded," he proceeds: "It is therefore not consistent with the real state of the case to represent this measure as an innovation on the Constitution; on the contrary, if there is one thing which has been more clearly proved than another on this question, it is that the barrier which now happens to impede the admission of Jews into the Legislature is the mere creature of accident,—that it was not raised by the Legislature for that purpose, but for one totally different; and it now remains for your Lordships to decide whether it shall have an effect which it was never intended to produce. And therefore, if your Lordships should reject this measure, it will be you who will be making an innovation upon the Constitution, and introducing a principle which does not now exist in it. The principle of this measure is in perfect harmony with the most essential principle of the Constitution. It is an indication of that elastic vigour, flexibility, and expansiveness, which are its glory and its strength."

Now in this passage, as there are some rather startling paradoxes, so I seem to see several fallacies, proceeding in the main from the primary fallacy of assuming that the principle of the Constitution was something negative, instead of positive. Every positive principle does indeed involve a negation, by which it is limited and defined. The faith in One God involves the rejection of all gods but that One. The marriage to one woman involves the forsaking of all others. But if, in reasoning, we proceed from the negative, instead of the positive principle, we may easily lose our way. The principle of our Constitution can never have been "one of absolute exclusiveness," except secondarily and derivatively: for the primary principle of whatever has life in it, must be something positive. The absolute exclusiveness only became a principle of our Constitution, so far as it was necessarily consequent upon the espousal of the nation to that which it regarded as the one Faith of Christ's Church. If we start from this point, we shall take that view of the progressive expansion of the Constitution, which I have attempted to sketch in the Charge, and according to which our Constitution has been gradually

becoming more comprehensive, not by rejecting its primary principle, whereby it was united to the Christian faith, but by adopting a larger conception, under the irresistible pressure of events, as to the necessary constituents of the Christian faith; until at length, in the eye of the Constitution, this became identified, so to say, with the reception of Baptism, and of the Apostles Creed. Looking at the matter in this light, we see that the principle of the Constitution has never yet been "absolutely discarded," as my honoured friend says, but has only been carried out more fully and completely. On the other hand it would be "absolutely discarded" by the admission of the Jews into the Legislature. For that would not be an expansion of the Christian principle of our Constitution, but the total abolition of that principle, and the substitution of its opposite, namely, that our Constitution is no way connected with any form of religion. Though this might not be directly exprest, it would be manifestly implied in that act; nor would it long continue latent, and merely implicit.

Thus we need not be disturbed by the ingenious paradoxes, that this measure is not "an innovation on the Constitution," and that its rejection would be the innovation, and the introduction of "a principle which does not now exist in it." I grant, it has been clearly shewn, that the words by which the Jews are now excluded from Parliament, were not enacted with a view to their exclusion. Nor did the Legislature ever think of setting up a barrier to keep them out, any more than it ever thought of setting up a barrier to keep out an army of icebergs. But surely the words prove, that, at the time when they were enacted, the profession of the Christian faith was deemed an indispensable qualification for a seat in the English Legislature. This was assumed, not as the result of argument, but as a recognised, irrefragable proposition. Nor was there ever a time, until recently, when this proposition would have been seriously controverted.

NOTE N : p. 33.

In a very valuable pamphlet just published by Dorner, one of the first divines in the German Protestant Church, on the present condition and prospects of that Church, there are some remarks, which throw so much light on the argument maintained in the text, that I will insert a quotation of considerable length.

“The intimate connexion which has subsisted hitherto in Germany between the State and Christianity is come to an end. Our relation was not that of having a State-Church. A State-Church exists only where the State has identified itself with one of the Christian Churches or Confessions, as the true religion, and therefore confers privileges on this one, in contradistinction from all others. —A State-Church in this sense subsists in England and Ireland, in favour of the Anglican,—in Scotland, of the ancient Scotch Church. It is objectionable, because the various Christian Confessions or Churches are still engaged in a controversy, which no earthly power has a right to regard as decided, since it has not yet been decided by the judgement of History. On the other hand, that Heathenism and Judaism are only subordinate religious stages, History has pronounced. Therefore, when the German State, proceeding hitherto on the assumption that the Christian religion is the one most in accordance with freedom, and looking at what the nations of Europe have become in the light of Christianity, entered into a closer alliance with Christianity, it only did what reason enjoined, not rejecting the teaching of that tribunal which utters its voice in History,—and building upon the principle, which had become an axiom of the European mind, that, among existing religions, Christianity was the only one which could satisfy it, or inspire it with confidence. Hence the same grounds which precluded a State-Church, have hitherto promoted the intimate and legally established union of the State with the Christian religion. In fact a State-Church has not even had a legal existence in Germany since the Reformation. The German Empire, in its highest Council, recognises the two Confessions, on

the relative superiority of which History has not yet pronounced its verdict, as entitled to equal rights. In particular provinces of the Empire, it is true, attempts were made for a time, both on the Protestant and on the Catholic side, to exercise the *Jus reformandi* in such a manner, that in each province the State and Church should coincide. But, even in this way, a State-Church was nowhere thoroughly carried out, unless perhaps in Bavaria and Austria, as Wirtemberg, Prussia, and other States prove: nor could it, being checked by the supremacy over the provinces which belonged to the Empire, wherein the Christian Confessions were entitled to equal rights. At last too, when the German Empire was dissolved by the convulsions consequent upon the first French Revolution, the sovereignty of the Emperor was transferred to the particular Princes in such wise, that almost every German State—comprised both Protestant and Catholic subjects. Thus, as the German Empire had previously admitted a union of Confessions, while the particular Provinces were tending more or less toward a State-Church, the States which survived after the dissolution of the Empire, entered in this respect also into the position and office of the Empire, in that each State, according to the Federal Pact, was bound to recognise and maintain the equality of the Confessions within its territory. Hence, since the Federal Pact, no one has a constitutional right to speak of a State-Church, even in the particular German States.—Yet the State had never till then revoked the favorable judgement, which had been enforced upon it by the power of History, as to the superior fitness of Christianity for the development of the intellectual freedom of its citizens in all ways. Consequently it still recognised its duty of supporting the Christian Churches, as the maintainers of the Christian religion, after its own fashion, and thus of promoting its own ends. Till then religion was not regarded by the State as a mere private affair, which lay wholly out of its sphere, nor the Church as a private society, which it had at the utmost to watch over as a matter of police: but it declared by its laws, that religion generally, and the Christian religion more especially, remote as it may be from the power and office of the State to produce this by any means of its own, or to exercise a

positive, internal rule over it, yet has a side, whereby it is entitled to be regarded and respected as of public and national concernment. Till then the State acted on the assumption that the people at large and as a whole, the people that supplies its materials for building, as well as its master-builders and householders, is, and purposes to be, a Christian people, and consequently that, out of its free conviction, it gives a preference to laws and institutions, which, by their origin and their upholders, afford a pledge of a Christian spirit above all others, and that under such, though it may feel somewhat less like a cosmopolite, it feels more at home.

“Our venerable John Gerhard has said, that ‘those who would restrict a government, especially a Christian one, to the task of providing for the outward welfare and tranquillity of this life, deserve about as much attention as if they were to call a magistrate a cowherd or a shepherd.’ By this broad irony, this great man express the same truth, which that celebrated Englishman, Thomas Arnold, has express in a more refined manner, when he censures the Independents for wishing to degrade government into a mere system of police. Gerhard’s words are the more striking now, when the Materialism which aims at a soul-less, idea-less State, and which has no perception for anything beyond the interests of earthly prosperity and power, has advanced to such a pitch of unintelligence, that it regards the degradation of the State, the destruction of all its ideal aims, not as a loss, but as a progress in freedom, whereas it is only a progress in licentiousness.—This dream is no better or worse, than the other that this materializing notion of a State is the newest, last, ripest result of the development of mankind, from which the golden age is to take its start. Yet new it is not. It was brought forward in its purest form, and even with unction, and became current, at a time at the thought of which, if at anything, our modernest sages cross and bless themselves. For the doctrine that the State is a wholly profane and godless thing, that it is merely subservient to our temporal interests and wants, and that its legitimacy proceeds solely from power, from majorities, from will, or from cunning, was asserted in the middle ages, in the very period of thickest darkness,

by the mouth of the Popes. The novelty is merely that we are now called upon to pick up as a jewel from the ground, what fell as a word of cursing from the High Priest at Rome, to count it a blessing, and to extoll it, every one of us, as a miracle-working charm, which is to heal all the evils of the age, and to plant a Paradise, less fugitive than the last, upon earth.

“The higher, spiritual idea of the State is one of the most glorious acquisitions which we owe to the Reformation. The State, according to the Protestant conception, is not a godless, soul-less thing, but has somewhat of a divine dignity, and takes part, though within the limits of its idea, that is, as an institution of national law, in promoting all the objects of humanity. Hence it is not surprising that till recently, in spite of all the hostile powers which were visibly marshaling themselves against us, we hoped to preserve this higher idea of the State, at least in Protestant countries, from the ever spreading confusion and whirlpool of the age. But in vain. It was to become plainer and plainer, that the great flood of modern history, which began long ago in England, then diffused itself in North America and France, and is now hastening to its termination in England, as it seems to us, with the approaching separation of the Anglican State-Church from the State, was also to drag us irresistibly toward the same goal. The farsighted, if they tried to withstand this, could only regard themselves as Cassandras.—

“Once already in the age before Christ, and immediately after Him, did the degenerate religion of the Jews, promoting the confusion of religions both at home and abroad, manifest itself as a corrosive, contributing, though false in itself, to the undermining of other religions, which had become falsehoods, and hastening their ruin. In our age again Judaism, having grown hollow, exercises a like corrosive power. In the Prussian Diet of 1847, it was by the Jewish Question that the decisive breach was made in the established order of things. Among those who took part in the assault, very few were probably capable of surveying the consequences of what they were doing. There are many who joined in this work, without intending

thereby to overthrow the Germanic Christian State; some, who fancied they were promoting its welfare, whether from supposing that the Jews are already in fact Christians, or that they would have been so long ago, unless they had been hardened and cast back upon themselves by their civil disabilities. This however would not of itself have carried the day. Assuredly the purpose of the Assembly was not to raise the Jews to a perfect equality, out of the notion that the unchristianizing of the State would be subservient and was necessary for the Christianizing of the Jews. The real question, if I see rightly, was very different. It did not turn on the Jews, those who have not degenerated from their determinate nationality, and their determinate faith. The Jewish Question served merely as an occasion and signal for a question of general principles. Is Christianity, now that full civil rights have been granted by the Federal Pact to each of the principal Christian Confessions in every German province, but have been no less decidedly withheld from those who are not Christians, still to retain this pre-eminence in our national legislation? Or is the State, as such, henceforward to be indifferent about every existing definite religious Confession, nay, as to the existence of a religious Confession at all? This was the real gist of the question. Had it merely related to the equalization of the Jews, with their peculiar faith, it would clearly have been impossible to avoid the previous question, whether the Jews, as a nation, felt any desire for this equalization, nay, whether their faith would even allow them to accept it. No, it was not the Jews, as a nation, clinging devoutly to the religion of their fathers, and who deserve no degradation for so doing, but who at the same time feel no wish for an equalization and national union, that excited the warm philanthropic interest, which magnanimously, without ever being asked, desired to incorporate them in our national and political commonwealth.—No, let us confess it, the purpose was not to deliver Judaism, as such, from its Ghetto: but men bethought themselves that the Christian Confession, for very many who in name belong to the Christian people, had

become narrow and oppressive, yea, a Ghetto, out of which however they could scarcely step, without losing their civil, or at least their political rights. To come out, or to help others out, of this uncomfortable state, this state of falsehood, where a man's heart contradicted his name, and his faith belied his Confession,—to make civil and political rights independent of every Confession,—this was the point at issue in that memorable conflict.

“The result of the conflict, it is known, was, that the highest political rights were still restricted to the Christian name; a concession to Christianity, the import of which was much diminished, when one saw what the Assembly regarded as Christianity. By the officers of the State and of the Church, the German people, as a whole, had hitherto been accounted Christian. Every one who was a member of the German nation, and not a Jew, was set down in tables, lists, registers, passports, as belonging to the Christian religion, and one or other of her Confessions. It is true, that, along with this official Christianity, the officers of the State and of the Church could not but perceive that a dangerous religious indifference or scepticism had penetrated through every religious community,—that many felt themselves inwardly destitute of a religious home,—and that these discontented persons, who previously had only existed insulatedly, were attempting to combine, in the press, in assemblages, in addresses, in sects, against the established order of things. But a hope was still cherished, that these unconfessional elements might be suppressed without a general rupture, and might be won over by a spiritual process, if our religious life, which had for years been gaining new strength, and our renovated theology were allowed to exercise their healing powers, and by devoted love to reclaim these spiritual wanderers. It was to be made manifest however, equally in Roman Catholic and in Protestant countries, that we were living under false assumptions, if we thought that this chasm between the outward and the inward could be healed without an open rupture. This became evident in Prussia on the 18th and three following days of March this year, and is equally so in the rest of Germany. Yes, so it is: and, in order to clear up

our present chaos, it is absolutely necessary to acknowledge frankly and openly that those were deceived, who imagined that the State, as such, was still aware, that, to be what it is, safely and permanently, it ought to be Christian. It was a gross lie, that the materials out of which the State seeks stones and architects for its buildings, were a Christian people, or even one that paid homage to the principles of Christianity. So far was this from being the case, that our people, though bearing a Christian name, yet in the body of its representatives had even lost the comprehension of our precious institutions, of their advantages, and of their defects. How then could it defend them with spirit, with courage, with intelligence? or whence could it obtain energy for such a reform as could alone have prevented their ruin, if it had been an act of the national mind? No: these institutions of the Germanic Christian Commonwealth, every one, even the most shortsighted, must perceive, had long been devoted to destruction. It was no peculiar plan or ill-will on the part of individuals that produced the crisis: the force of circumstances, which had long been gathering around us from without, like a tempest, more and more rapidly, came upon us with an inevitable doom.

“The complete civil and political equalization of all religious Confessions, which was proclaimed in the Address of the King of Prussia to his people and to the German nation on the twenty-first of March,—and which has already received its sanction from the German Diet, with reference to the elections for the National Parliament,—has effected a complete change in the previous order of things; not by laying down that equal services or duties shall henceforward have equal rights,—for this would be mere justice,—but that all shall have the same rights without the same duties. Hitherto political rights resulted from the duty, which was regarded as axiomatic, of acting for the benefit of the people, including its Christian benefit, and for the institutions which minister thereto, to the best of our knowledge and conscience, in a Christian sense and spirit; for instance, in matters of legislation and administration, in which Christian interests are so

deeply concerned. The obligation of this duty might indeed be contravened often enough in point of fact ; but it was an established principle, so long as he, who was to exercise political rights in our Commonwealth, had to declare himself bound to Christianity by a Christian profession. At present, on the contrary, all rights are given to all, without similar obligations. For those who are not Christians, are not capable of undertaking and discharging Christian duties ; yet they enjoy the same rights. Therefore, if the duties were still recognised, as of yore, they would be exempted from them, privileged. But in point of fact these duties are no longer recognised : the State, as it is at present, no longer expects them even from Christians. Hence we have no ground for complaining of an exemption and privilege granted to those who are not Christians ; nor have we to contend as to the principle that similar duties should have similar rights answering to them. This would not have produced any important changes. The momentous novelty is, that the State has been compelled to surrender its principles to the pressure, which, under the pretext of demanding an equality of rights for all, has in fact demanded its own emancipation from, and that the State, as such, should give up, what I have above described as an axiom of European civilization hitherto, and as a principle of our public conscience. Herewith it must be reduced to the necessity of abandoning a number of the highest tasks of mankind, in which it had hitherto taken part after its manner, and which are intimately connected with the aims of the Christian Church. It is indeed conceivable that the State, even after this enormous revolution, after this overthrow of institutions which have subsisted for fifteen centuries, might still retain its hold on those tasks, and, even in its present condition, desire to exercise the same kind of power over the Christian Church. But then the question would be, whether the State would not pass over from its present legally established position of indifference toward Christianity, into that of hostility toward it. I would not be misunderstood. I do not complain that the separation of the State from the Church has taken place. I do not deny that in the present condition of things

it was necessary. Still less would I plead in behalf of a compulsory political Christianity, which would transform a moral or conscientious obligation into a legal one. On the contrary, when the abovementioned discrepancy between the outward confession of Christianity and the inward feeling was actually existing, and could not be removed by any spiritual remedies, as is now clear, I am quite content that the true condition of things should have become manifest; and I give my hearty assent to that separation. Still I cannot regard it as a benefit in itself; readily as I acknowledge that, in the connexion between the Church and the State hitherto, there were many remains of their medieval or Byzantine confusion, which required to be swept away. What I deplore, is only, that the great axiom of our European political wisdom, the conviction that all men are bound to Christianity, to the true fear of God, has become extinct, or at least has been shaken to such an extent, in the German people,—that religion and Christianity have become for so many a mere matter of individual liking. The pulse of our Christian life has grown languid in the German people; and therefore has a degenerate Christianity and Judaism become so frequent; therefore have so many rejected that axiom, and withdrawn, from the atmosphere, which formerly surrounded our domestic life, protecting and purifying it from childhood down to old age.”

The reader will of course bear in mind that Dorner is speaking throughout from his own national point of view, and, in what he says of Christianity, treats of it solely in its relation to the State, and as the most powerful instrument for the political and moral improvement of mankind. With this proviso, I think it will be perceived how nearly allied the questions which have been agitated in Germany, are to that which has recently been stirred in our own country, and how forcibly many of his remarks bear upon the latter. Through God's mercy we have been preserved from that dismal condition, into which he represents the German nation as having fallen, and the fruits of which we seeⁱⁿ every newspaper. May God still preserve us from it, and from every measure which might lead us toward it! from every measure which

might tend to weaken the Christian character of the Nation, to withdraw the Nation from its sole, exclusive allegiance to Christ!

NOTE O: p. 34.

That the recent Bill is merely a continuation of divers previous measures, is maintained, not merely by the Bishop of St David's in the passage quoted above, but also by Mr Gladstone in his Speech, and in the Preface to it, as well as by most of the other supporters of the Bill, both in and out of Parliament. That this view is fallacious, and where the fallacy lies, has been shewn, I trust, in Note M. Yet, unless one knew how ready we all are to adopt any argument which favours our cause, it would seem strange that anybody should overlook, what an enormous leap it is from our present position, where a profession of the Christian faith is required as indispensable for a seat in the Legislature, to one in which any person may enter it without such a profession.

It is argued indeed that the transition from a Unitarian to a Jew is not very material, with reference to the Catholic faith. The Unitarian however, as such, and by the profession required of him, confesses, at the lowest, that Jesus is the greatest of all moral and religious teachers, that He had an immediate divine mission, that He came to bring life and immortality to light. He acknowledges the resurrection of Jesus as the first-fruits and the evidence of our resurrection. He takes the Gospel as the supreme code of all morality. Now that to which the State from its position is bound to look chiefly in every form of religion, is its moral aspect. As it has been well expressed by a German writer, Marheineke, "In the Church morality is contemplated as piety; in the State, piety as morality." As the acceptance of the Koran, and the common relation to Mahomet, form a distinctive bond of union among all Mahometan nations and tribes, so is there a similar bond of union, in spite of all differences, however momentous these may be, whereby all persons accepting the Gospel for their highest, divinely inspired code, and attaching themselves to Jesus as the highest, divinely inspired

Teacher of mankind, are at once bound together, and separated from the rest of the human race.

This great essential distinction has not been sufficiently attended to by the Bishop of St David's, when, in trying to reduce the difference between Unitarians and Jews to a minimum, he says (p. 10) that, in regard to the denial of the Divinity of our Lord, "they stand upon the same footing." This again, it seems to me, shews how easily we slip into fallacies, when we adopt the negative scale in reasoning, when we class people by what they deny, instead of by what they believe. Even ecclesiastically, though the Church has been too apt to take the former course, the latter is that of Christian wisdom. As to the State, the concerns of which do not lie in the region of dogmas, or of our inward spiritual life, but in that of our moral life, surely there is an enormous interval between those who, by their profession, declare that Christ is their one Divine Teacher and Lawgiver, the Bringer of mankind out of darkness into light, and those who deny these His special claims and dignities, nay, whose distinct nationality rests upon that denial; though certain individuals amongst them may be led by the influences of our recent philosophy and literature, which in many have almost undermined their peculiar religion, to allow that he was "a teacher of pure morality." The two modes of thought, at their extreme proximate limits, may be nearly contiguous; and yet the difference between them may be of the utmost importance, as the Bishop of St David's himself admits just before: his admission however, if duly appreciated, it seems to me, would have shewn that his attempt to pare down the difference, though interesting in reference to the history of Jewish philosophers, is of no moment with regard to the practical question before us.

Moreover, it is well observed by Mr Gladstone (p. 11), that "The law can only deal with what is tangible. A creed, in its sphere is tangible: it has a historical as well as a theological form and body. Even a name, in its own distinct sphere, is tangible too; and Parliament may, if it thinks fit, legislate for names." For names are not mere names, even when they are used falsely.

While they are witnesses against him who uses them, they are also witnesses of the value of that which he dishonestly usurps. Much more is a name worth, when it is assumed in sincerity, as that of Christians is by Unitarians, when they who assume it hold it to be precious, and contend strenuously for their right to it. As the Legislature in all its acts is compelled to look at that which is outward, and as it has no test for ascertaining what spiritual reality corresponds to the outward appearance, it may, not unreasonably, feel itself warranted in taking the profession of a Christian faith, as the criterion for the eligibility of its members. Hereby, at all events, it asserts the Christian character of the nation, and, along with its Christian character, its Christian duties and obligations. It acknowledges itself to be bound by those Christian duties and obligations. It acknowledges that the highest object of all national, as well as individual aim, is the establishment of the kingdom of Christ upon earth.

Besides, there is another very weighty difference. The members of all our Dissenting bodies, who have become eligible to Parliament by the repeal of the various Test Acts, are Englishmen. The Jews are not Englishmen, but Jews. The former are united to us, not only by the profession of a common faith, and by the innumerable intellectual and moral and spiritual ties, which spring from that faith, even with every allowance for all its diversities; but they are also bound to us by race, by numberless domestic and familiar and social links, by community of habits and customs and institutions, by the inheritance of a common ancestry, by sharing in the same national glory, by "speaking the tongue which Shakspeare spoke," by "holding the faith and morals which Milton held." All these common possessions we have; and hereby we are trained for acting unitedly in the present, and for seeking common aims in the future. The Jews, on the other hand, are not connected with us by any of these ties. They have not associated with us: they have not intermarried with us. They have no sympathy with our English feelings: they have no portion in England's glory. Above all, they are far more closely connected with the members of their race in other countries,

than with the English nation. They do not belong to the staple of England's strength and wealth. They are not rooted in her soil. They are not bound up with anything that is permanent in her. They might strike their tents tomorrow, and pass away, and would if they could better themselves by it. The one great object of their aim and pursuit is that which is most purely personal to the outward man, and which can be transferred with the greatest facility from one end of the world to the other. They may be called the currency of the human race.

It may be rejoined, that many of these defects have arisen from our institutions, which for a long time precluded them from taking a firmer root in our soil. Be it so. This might be a valid reason for repealing many of their minor disabilities; but it is no reason for admitting them at once to the highest offices in the State. If in the course of two or three generations it should appear that the Jews, through the enjoyment of English civil rights, have been brought to amalgamate more with English habits and feelings, and to identify themselves with the permanent interests of England, this would, so far, be a strong reason for raising them from a lower step to a higher. But even on this civil ground at present they have no claim to higher privileges. When this amalgamation has taken place, which will hardly be without their imbibing much at least of the moral influence of Christianity, it will be for the statesmen of those days to consider in what manner the religious character of the English nation shall still be upheld, along with the most conscientious discharge of every social obligation.

A further important distinction, merely taking a political ground, is, that the various Dissenting bodies, being sprung from English blood, have a hereditary claim to share in the political rights of their countrymen: and this claim is all the greater, because they were deprived of it, many of them, in consequence of that most unrighteous enactment in the last Act of Uniformity, which drove their fathers out of the Church. For this national crime we were bound to make atonement. On the other hand, though the exclusion of the Romanists arose rather from the crimes of their own ancestors, the time was at length come, when it was

fitting that the great national wound, which had been bleeding for more than two centuries, should be closed. But our Jewish settlers have no claim of the kind. They came amongst us as aliens. They have traded amongst us as aliens, for their own personal ends. They have had the protection of the laws for themselves and their gains; and this has been an ample compensation for the share they have taken in bearing the burthens of the State.

To me too, I confess, there seems to be no little force in the argument alluded to by Dorner, where he speaks (p. 96) of “the previous question, whether the Jews, as a nation, feel any desire for these political rights, nay, whether their faith would even allow them to accept such.” Indeed this their faith, so long as they retain it, must needs preclude their ever becoming one in heart and soul with any other people. By this itself they are kept distinct and separate. Nor is it enough to answer, with the Bishop of St David’s (p. 25), that “a similar remark would apply to many bodies of Christians,—who consider the Apostle’s language, *Here have we no continuing city, but we seek one to come*, as still applicable to their own circumstances, and who are prevented by their religious scruples from taking an active part in public life.” For such scruples in individuals are no reason for withholding political rights from the great Christian body to which they belong; nor do they give those who hold them a separate interest from that body. Whereas the faith of the Jews does. It is true, that at the court of Pharaoh, at that of Nebuchadnezzar, at that of Darius, they made great and excellent ministers. But then their religion and their moral code were in the van of the nations over whom they were set, while now they would be far in the rear. At all events this reduces the body, for whose sake the Christian principle of our Constitution is to be sacrificed, to little more than a knot of persons, whose lives have been spent, with no slight success, in picking up the dust of the river Pactolus, and who, in the very act of entering our Parliament, are, to a certain extent, sacrificing their distinctive faith and nationality, yet without adopting ours. I will not enquire what prognostics

may be drawn from this as to their fitness for exercising a legislative office.

NOTE P: p. 34.

I know not whether Dr Arnold ever exprest his opinion on the Jewish Question publicly, except in the Postscript to his Pamphlet on the Principles of Church Reform. In this he asserts that the founders of the Protestant Church of England considered the Church and the Nation as identical. "The Christian Nation of England was the Church of England;—the head of that Nation was for that very reason the head of the Church;—the public officers of the Nation, whether civil or ecclesiastical, were officers therefore of the Church;—and every Englishman was supposed to be properly a member of it,—baptized into it, almost as soon as he was born,—taught its lessons in his early childhood,—required to partake of its most solemn pledge of communion,—married under its sanction and blessing,—and laid in the grave, within its peculiar precincts, amidst its prayers and most affectionate consolations. And is it indifference or latitudinarianism to wish most devoutly that this noble, this divine theory, may be fully and for ever realized?

"It is objected to this doctrine, that it implies the exclusion of those who are not members of the Church from the civil rights of citizens. I think it does imply such an exclusion in the case of those who are not members of the Church of Christ: nor should I consider a Christian nation justified in forming a legislative union with a nation of Jews, or Mahometans, or Heathens. If the citizens of the same nation are in nearly equal proportion Christians and Heathens, the State in that country is not yet sufficiently enlightened to become a Church;—and it is here that our Lord's words apply, that His Kingdom is not of this world. Christians have no right, as such, to press the establishment of their religion to the prejudice of the civil rights of others. Yet, if the two religions happened to be for the most part locally divided, it would be a reason why such a nation should separate itself into

two, and the Christian and Heathen portions of it form each a State distinct from the other. But when the decided majority of a country become Christians, so that the State may justly become a Church, then the Heathen part of the population ought to be excluded from the legislature, and encouraged, if it be possible, to emigrate to other countries, if they complain of not participating in the full rights of citizenship. At present in England, I should earnestly deprecate the admission of the Jews to a share in the National Legislature. It is a principle little warranted by authority or by reason, that the sole qualification for enjoying the rights of citizenship should consist in being locally an inhabitant of any country. But all professing Christians, of whatever sect, as being members of the Church of Christ, must be supposed to have much more in common with each other, as far as the great ends of society are concerned, than they have points of difference. Their peculiar tenets therefore need form no ground for their exclusion."

The same principles, though without distinct reference to the Jews, were asserted in the Preface to the third volume of his *Thucydides*. "That bond and test of citizenship, which the ancient legislatures were compelled to seek in sameness of race, because thus only could they avoid the worst of evils, a confusion and consequent indifference in men's notions of right and wrong, is now furnisht to us in the profession of Christianity. He who is a Christian, let his race be what it will, let his national customs be ever so different from ours, is fitted to become our fellow-citizen. For his being a Christian implies that he retains such of his national customs only as are morally indifferent; and for all such we ought to feel the most perfect toleration. He who is not a Christian, though his family may have lived for generations on the same soil with us, though they may have bought and sold with us, though they may have been protected by our laws, and paid taxes in return for that protection, is yet essentially, not a citizen, but a sojourner: and to admit such a person to the rights of citizenship tends in principle to the confusion of right and wrong, and lowers the objects of political society to such as are merely physical and external.—It is considered in our days that

those who are possessors of property in a country ought to be citizens in it: the ancient maxim was, that those who were citizens ought to be possessors of property. The difference involved in these two different views is most remarkable."

To some persons it may appear inconsistent, that so ardent a lover of freedom, so strenuous an advocate for the abolition of the civil Disabilities imposed upon the Dissenters and Romanists, —the writer of a pamphlet bearing title, *The Christian Duty of conceding the claims of the Roman Catholics*,—should have taken what they will deem so opposite a course with regard to the Jews. In fact however it was for this very reason, because he was acting throughout on a clear, definite principle, because he felt that the concession of equal civil rights to all bodies of Christians was a Christian duty, that he was so earnest in resisting the misapplication of that principle, and the perversion of that duty, by extending them to the Jews. Politicians like Sir Robert Peel and Mr Gladstone, who did not act on a similar distinctly recognised principle, and with a similar conviction of Christian duty, but who, having resisted the removal of disabilities from Dissenters and Roman Catholics as long as they could, turned round at length, under a conviction of the mere practical necessity of conceding them, may not unnaturally be less clearsighted with regard to the difference between the two cases. Having withstood one concession and another till they were forced to grant it, they are merely going the same round again, when, having opposed the removal of the Jewish disabilities a few years ago, they are now strenuous in advocating it. How strong Dr Arnold's convictions on this point were, appears from several passages in his published Correspondence.

The first occurs in a letter to me, written in 1834. "I must petition against the Jew Bill, and wish that you, or some man like you, would expose that low Jacobinical notion of citizenship, that a man acquires a right to it by the accident of his being littered *inter quatuor maria*, or because he pays taxes. I wish I had the knowledge and the time to state fully the ancient system of *πάροικοι, μέτοικοι*, &c., and the principle on which it rested; that

different races have different νόμιμα, and that an indiscriminate mixture breeds a perfect *colluxio omnium rerum*. Now Christianity gives us that bond perfectly, which race in the ancient world gave illiberally and narrowly: for it gives a common standard of νόμιμα, without observing distinctions, which are, in fact, better blended."

To a like effect he wrote to Sir John Coleridge: "The correlative to taxation, in my opinion, is not citizenship, but protection. Taxation may imply representation *quoad hoc*; and I should have no objection to let the Jews tax themselves in a Jewish House of Assembly, like a Colony, or like the Clergy of old; but to confound the right of taxing oneself with the right of general legislation is one of the Jacobinical confusions of later days, arising from those low Warburtonian notions of the ends of political society."

Again in 1836 he wrote to Mr Hull: "I want to petition against the Jew Bill; but I believe I must petition alone.—I want to take my stand on my favorite principle, that the world is made up of Christians and non-Christians. With all the former we should be one; with none of the latter. I would thank the Parliament for having done away with distinctions between Christian and Christian; I would pray that distinctions be kept up between Christians and non-Christians. Then I think that the Jews have no claim whatever of political right. If I thought of Roman Catholicism as you do, I would petition for the repeal of the Union tomorrow, because I think Ireland ought to have its own Church establishd in it; and if I thought that Church Antichristian, I should object to living in political union with a people belonging to it. But the Jews are strangers in England, and have no more claim to legislate for it, than a lodger has to share with the landlord in the management of his house. If we had brought them here by violence, and then kept them in an inferior condition, they would have just cause to complain; though even then I think we might lawfully deal with them on the Liberia system, and remove them to a land where they might live by themselves independent: for England is the land of Englishmen, not of Jews."

About the same time he wrote thus to Archbishop Whately:

“ I have read your additional remarks on the Jew Bill, and grieve that there should be so much difference between us.—For the Jews I see no plea of justice whatever. They are voluntary strangers here, and have no claim to become citizens, but by conforming to our moral law, which is the Gospel. Had we brought them here as captives, I should think that we ought to take them back again; and I should think myself bound to subscribe for that purpose. I would give the Jews the honorary citizenship, which was so often given by the Romans,—that is, the private rights of citizens, *jus commercii et jus connubii*,—but not the public rights, *jus suffragii* and *jus honorum*. But then, according to our barbarian feudal notions, the *jus commercii* involves the *jus suffragii*; because land forsooth is to be represented in Parliament, just as it used to confer jurisdiction. Then again I cannot but think that you over-estimate the difference between Christian and Christian. Every member of Christ’s Catholic Church is one with whom I may lawfully join in legislation, and whose ministry I may lawfully use, as a judge or a magistrate. But a Jew or Heathen I cannot apply to voluntarily, but only obey him passively, if he has the rule over me. A Jew judge ought to drive all Christians from pleading before him, according to St Paul, 1 Cor. vi. 1.”

NOTE Q: p. 35.

Thus Mr Gladstone (p. 36), in replying to Lord Ashley, who had deservedly attached great weight to the authority of Dr Arnold, says of the latter: “ I apprehend that his view of this particular question stood related, not to the strength of his mind, but to its weakness. Most excellent and most able as he was, yet, like many other men of remarkable and rare ingenuity and of true enthusiasm, he had his own theory which he idolized, which it was the dream of his life to rear into actual existence, and with respect to which no experience could avail to undeceive him. He considered that in a Christian country the State and the Church ought to be regarded as one, the State belonging wholly to the

Church, and the Church belonging wholly to the State." Then, after giving a somewhat overstrained picture of this theory, the merits of which I cannot stop to vindicate or discuss, Mr Gladstone adds: "Dr Arnold's opinion, that the Jews should be excluded from Parliament, was an opinion entertained by him, not with regard to their separate case upon its own merits, but rather, I think, as necessary to the integrity of this favorite, but very peculiar and arbitrary theory."

Now in this reply, if it can be called such, the whole force of the argument lies in the assertion that Dr Arnold's was a "very peculiar and arbitrary theory." Else assuredly it would not be reprehensible, but the very contrary, in a statesman, that he did not look at the case of the Jews separately, "upon its own merits," but in connexion with the principles of the Constitution, as manifested and developept in its history. Indeed I know not how any statesman, how any man capable of thinking, can look at such a matter separately, "upon its own merits." At all events he who tries to do so is sure to flounder. Even Mr Gladstone himself does not attempt it, but considers the question with reference to certain general principles, which he conceives to be those of the English Constitution in the year 1847, having in that year come to the conviction that it will be for the good of the Constitution to vaccinate it with Judaism. But, though I am far from maintaining that all the consequences which Dr Arnold drew from his theory are quite legitimate and practically expedient, I think it is plain, that, so far as his theory is enunciated in the passages quoted in the last Note, it is no way peculiar or arbitrary. Some of the illustrations may be peculiar, but not the theory of the Constitution itself, except so far as he discerned clearly, what to others may have been more or less indistinct. For it is the only theory which explains and harmonizes the facts of our Constitution hitherto; and it has been working, though often half unconsciously, in the minds of our statesmen, nay, what is far more, in the mind of the nation, for generations. Various public acts have been grounded upon it: and, even when it has been violated, the violation arose, not from a neglect of the principle, but from a

mistake about its application. Moreover the passage quoted from Dorner in Note N,—and I might cite many from other German writers to a like effect,—shews that this same conception of the Christian State has been entertained, not solely by speculative thinkers, but by practical statesmen for centuries, and that it received a legislative enactment, primarily at the peace of Westphalia, and latterly in the Federal Act of the German Confederation in 1815.

In fact, as portrait-painters are apt to introduce touches of their own features and characteristic expression into their representations of others, so Mr Gladstone's account of Dr Arnold's theory is tinged by certain reminiscences of his own. For he too once had a theory, which he worked out elaborately and with much ingenuity, and which might truly be said to be very peculiar and arbitrary. The facts of our Constitution repudiated it: the wheels of the world rolled over it and crushed it: and Mr Gladstone himself, when he took part in public life, and found facts too stubborn to bend to it, was forced to abandon his theory; though at one time he may be said, in his own word, to have "idolized" it, and though it had been "the dream" of his youth "to rear it into actual existence." Thus, having found in his own case that a theory constructed without a due regard to facts will rather hamper than serve a statesman in actual political life, he seems to have contracted a notion that other theories must be like his own, well suited, it may be, for the flowing robe of the philosopher in his study, but a hindrance that must be thrown off by such as gird themselves for the real business of the world. Hence too we find him holding, as it seems, that each case is to be treated separately upon its own merits; a course, which, if followed without reference to general principles, that is, to an intelligent theory of the Constitution, is mere empiricism, and, as such, will grope about for whatever maxims, apparently favorable to its purpose, it can scrape together. Surely it should not require to be asserted nowadays, that in every intellectual operation there is a twofold process, the objective, and the subjective; so that we are to examine each case, both as it is in itself, and

also in its dependence on that portion of the general laws of being which bear immediately upon it ; and the right verdict of the judgment will be the reconciliation or identity of the two. In true philosophy, whether politics or whatever else be its subject matter, experience and theory coincide. Empiricism on the other hand is ever vacillating to and fro, and, feeling its own weakness, tries to prop itself up by the first hypothesis it can lay hand on. That Arnold had looked at the case practically, as well as theoretically, we see from the warm interest with which he speaks on it. He was not a man to be so much moved in behalf of a speculative crotchet.

Yet this same objection to Dr Arnold's authority,—the weight of which on this point is all the greater, because his opinion seems to run counter to the ordinary current of his mind,—has also been alledged by the Bishop of St David's, along with others, which do not appear to me more cogent. Dr Arnold's opinion, that the Jews are to be regarded as aliens, he says (p. 23), “ was evidently formed on the analogy of the Greek and Roman States, rather than on the existing circumstances of this country. In the history of those States he found a class, which seemed to correspond to the condition of the Jews ; and thus he was naturally led to adopt the views taken by the ancient writers of the position and relations of that class, and to apply them to the case of the Jews.” To me, I confess, my friend here appears to have committed a *hysteron proteron*. Surely, if he had been less ingenious, he would have seen that Dr Arnold's views on the position of the Jews in our country were derived from the actual position which they have ever held here, and which is analogous to their position in the other nations of Europe. In this position Dr Arnold would have retained them, barring what they have had to endure in the way of persecution : and in support of this opinion, as was natural for a man of a historical mind, he adduced a remarkably happy parallel from the institutions of Greece and Rome, which had just been revived by Niebuhr.

The Bishop further urges, in derogation from Dr Arnold's authority, that his opinions on this question arose from his favorite theory on the identity of Church and State. “ And not only (he adds) did

they spring from a theory which few of your Lordships will be inclined to adopt; but they are carried to a length to which you would hardly be prepared to go along with him: for, in his opinion, it would not be inconsistent with justice or humanity, if the Government of this country should think proper to transport all the Jews settled among us,—as was done with the Moriscoes in Spain,—to some other region.” On the subject of Dr Arnold’s theory I need not say more: but with reference to the last objection I feel bound to rejoin, that he is merely putting a hypothetical case, as may be seen in the concluding extracts in Note P. “If we had brought the Jews here by violence, and then kept them in an inferior condition,—even then, I think, we might lawfully deal with them on the Liberia system, and remove them to a land where they might live by themselves independent.” Again: “Had we brought them here as captives, I should think that we ought to take them back again; and I should think myself bound to subscribe for that purpose.” Surely the hypothetical case greatly diminishes, or rather wholly removes the absurdity of the inference, by which my friend would impair Dr Arnold’s authority, but which merely betokens his fervid love of justice. So prone are we to see just what we are looking for, that even the clearsighted Historian of Greece is led to turn into a gross absurdity, what is nothing but an expression of strict conscientiousness: and even when printing his Speech, and adding Dr Arnold’s words in a note, he did not perceive how he had distorted their meaning.

NOTE R: p. 37.

The Bishop of St David’s,—to whom I refer so frequently, not only because he has published an authentic report of his Speech, strengthened by Notes, but also because one may feel pretty sure that whatever arguments can be adduced in favour of the Bill, will be made the best of in his pages,—says (p. 35): “The claim of the Jews to admission into the Legislature has never, I believe, been represented as standing on the footing of absolute,

unconditional right, so as to involve, as was emphatically asserted, the principle of Chartism in its highest announcement. Any statements which may seem to go that length, must in fairness be construed with such a qualification as common sense requires, and the argument itself admits." Still, though the argument from right may not have been carried to such an extreme by the advocates of the measure in Parliament,—though none of them went to the length of the revolutionary fanatics in talking about the inherent inalienable, indefeasible rights of man,—yet the argument from right is sure to have such weight whenever it can be urged, that few advocates will refrain from straining it beyond its proper limits. Hence it was needful that the opponents of the measure should shew how slightly this argument bore upon the question; more especially at a time when all the dykes and embankments by which social order is preserved, have been burst, and visionary rights, which are little else than practical wrongs, are flooding and swamping the face of Europe. For, though natural rights, civil rights, and political rights, rest on very different grounds, and have a very different validity, yet, inasmuch as they are all ranged under the name of Rights, the sanctity and universality, which belong to the first class, are often extended to the others. This confusion is pointed out by Burke in his Speech on the Petition for Relief from Subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles. "When gentlemen complain of the subscription as matter of grievance, the complaint arises from confounding private judgement, whose rights are anterior to Law, and the qualifications which the law creates for its own magistracies, whether civil or religious. To take away from men their lives, their liberty, or their property, those things for the protection of which society was introduced, is great hardship and intolerable tyranny: but to annex any condition you please to benefits artificially created is the most just, natural, and proper thing in the world. When *de novo* you form an arbitrary benefit, an advantage, preeminence or emolument, not by nature, but institution, you order and modify it with all the power of a Creator over his creature. Such benefits of institution are royalty,

nobility, priesthood; all of which you may limit to birth: you might prescribe even shape and stature."

The exaggeration of expression,—for it does not affect the immediate argument in these words,—is no more than what is to be expected from an orator, who does not profess to treat abstract questions with philosophical precision: but that which may be wanting in this respect, is richly supplied by the excellent observations on the same topic in the *Reflexions on the French Revolution*. "As to the share of power, authority, and direction (Burke there says), which each individual ought to have in the management of the State, that I must deny to be amongst the direct, original rights of Man in civil society.—It is a thing to be settled by convention. If civil society be the offspring of convention, that convention must be its law. That convention must limit and modify all the descriptions of constitution which are formed under it. Every sort of legislative, judicial, or executory power are its creatures. They can have no being in any other state of things." So dangerous is misty vagueness and ambiguity attach to such a word as Right, whereby the passionate feelings excited by a violation of it under one sense, take fire at a supposed violation of it under another sense, that Burke's disentanglement of this knot was a great benefit, not merely to political philosophy, but to practical politics.

When we take this correct view of the nature of political rights, I cannot see what there is inappropriate in the analogies, by which the denial of these rights, or rather privileges, to the Jews has been vindicated. The Bishop of St David's says, "that the fallacy of the comparison,—with the case of clergymen, of females, of minors, and of persons wanting the pecuniary qualification at present required by the law,—is so glaring, as to be characteristic of the spirit in which the question has been discust." This glaring fallacy, I confess, I cannot perceive. As a reply to an argument maintaining that the Jews, as native English subjects, have a claim of right to be admitted into Parliament, it is perfectly valid to urge that there are other large classes, who

are also excluded. The force of this argument rests solely on the fact of their exclusion, and is a complete logical refutation of that against which it is brought. What the grounds of the exclusion may be in each case, and whether they are all equally valid, is a different question. But it is of importance to simplify the discussion by getting rid of the other plea, so that it may turn wholly on the political expediency of the measure. For a question of expediency it is, like every other political question, of expediency on the highest grounds, in which the moral interests of the nation are to be taken into account, quite as much as its economical prosperity. This is implied in the denial of its being a question of abstract right. Moreover the political condition of the Clergy shews that it is not incompatible with the principles of our Constitution for a class of persons to be entrusted with the elective franchise, and yet to be themselves ineligible. Here again there is a clear analogy. We do not say that the two cases rest on the same grounds. The limited franchise may be expedient in the one case, inexpedient in the other. But we bar the argument that there is any thing unconstitutional, or any inherent inconsistency, in such a distinction.

Hence it appears that the saying of Lord Bacon, which Sir Robert Peel quoted in refutation of Dr Arnold's comparison between the condition of the Jews and the imperfect franchise at Rome, requires certain limitations. Speaking of a natural born English subject, in the argument on the Scotch *Postnati*, Bacon says, that "he is complete and entire. For in the law of England there is *nil ultra*;—and therein it seemeth to me that the wisdom of the law is to be admired both ways, both because it distinguisheth so far, and because it doth not distinguish further. For I know that other laws do admit more curious distinction of this privilege; for the Romans had, besides *jus civitatis*, which answereth to naturalization, *jus suffragii*. For although a man were naturalized to take lands and inheritance, yet he was not enabled to have a voice at passing of laws, or at election of officers. And yet further they have *jus petitionis*, or *jus honorum*. For, though a man had voice, yet he was not

capable of honour and office. But these be the devices commonly of popular or free estates, which are jealous whom they take into their number, and are unfit for monarchies. But by the law of England the subject that is natural born, hath a capacity or ability to all benefits whatsoever; I say capacity or ability: but to reduce *potentiam in actum* is another case."

Had there been any Jews in England in Bacon's time, he could not have written thus. But the old colony was expelled under Edward I.; and the later one only came in under Cromwell. Allowance too is to be made for Bacon's speaking as an advocate, and, as such, extolling that provision of the laws on which his clients grounded their claim. An advocate does not weigh his expressions in a jeweller's scales. For one may certainly question with Arnold whether superior wisdom is indicated by the absence of any qualification, except such as results from property, whereby the Englishman's potential franchise becomes actual. How much too is the force of Bacon's authority on this question diminished by his admission, that the distinction of franchise belongs to popular or free estates, though he thinks it unfit for monarchies! For an absolute monarch may exercise his own discretion in the choice of his servants: and the more absolute he is, the more he will wish to see them all set on the same level. But when the persons elected by the people are to be the real government of the nation, all care should be taken to secure the judicious exercise of the elective franchise. Now so great changes have been wrought in the English Constitution since Bacon's days, that, what might then be rightly termed a monarchy, would now rather come under the head of "popular or free estates." Thus, while his authority with regard to the historical bearings of the question is of no importance, because he did not contemplate the case, and, if he had, must have written differently, as to its political aspect he may be conceived, if anything, to favour the scheme of having distinct franchises in a Commonwealth like ours.

Nor, on the other hand, is there the slightest worth in the argument that the rights of the citizens of London were violated by

the rejection of the person whom they had returned as their representative to Parliament. The citizens of London, like other people, have no absolute political rights, none but what are measured by their correlative duties. The right of election in all cases is restricted to those whom the Constitution pronounces to be eligible. Had they elected a minor, or a clergyman, the election would be invalid *ipso facto*; and it would hardly have been contended that their rights were infringed by the disallowance of their choice. Even in France the election of Georges Sand would not be accepted as valid. It is true, the election of O'Connell was the immediate occasion of the admission of Romanists into the Legislature. But surely this was not a precedent to be copied. It is a sufficient disgrace to our Legislature, to have been reduced then to yield, under compulsion of outward force, what they had so long refused to concede on the plainest grounds of political expediency. So important a portion of the nation as the Romanists, had every equitable claim to be represented in our Legislature: but I cannot see that the Jews have any, except what they derive from the power of Mammon. In fact the recent case is much more like a parody of that precedent, than a parallel.

NOTE S: p. 38.

This truth, which was the principle of the political institutions of the middle ages, has been brought out into speculative distinctness by the recent philosophy of Germany. Thus Marheineke, in his recently published Lectures on Theological Ethics, says (p. 530): "In the philosophy of Christian morals, the State can only be contemplated as it exists in the Christian Church, and consequently as the Christian State. Christianity did not produce the State: it found the State already existing, but first brought out its true idea and purpose. It is the same thing therefore, whether we speak of the true State, or of the Christian State. The Church and State bear the same relation to each other which our feelings do to their manifestation or realization. As this points to their having a common principle, so does it to the

difference between them. The State, like the Family, and the Church, is a moral institution.—In addition to the province of police, and of law, that of morals also belongs to the State, inasmuch as they can only manifest themselves openly therein.—The State cannot produce art, science, or religion : it can only foster them, or, if it will not have them, suppress them. All their expressions, whatever they do, must be in the State: it founds and supports institutions for them: it takes cognisance of them and watches over them.—The moral principle of the modern State is that of Christianity, in that it necessarily implies a recognition of the infinite value of every human being.—The unity of the Church and State is not an external relation, a hypothetical adjunct: they are essentially connected; and this their necessary inward connexion is their unity. They among whom no trace of piety or religious worship should be found, could hardly be a people, but merely wild hordes, just raised above brutes: that any State in the world however should exist without religion is impossible. It is by the Christian Religion, that the noblest feelings of nations, the moral institutions of States, the love of our family and of our country, public spirit and the desire of being useful, and the oaths which unite the people and their sovereign, are sanctified; and it is the piety inherent in the State that recognises these ties and obligations.—Our moral life seeks to realize itself in the State, and organizes it into a structure, in which alone can any attain to full freedom of existence and consciousness. The Kingdom of God includes these two provinces, the State and the Church, within it; and thus the State is become an essential part in the Divine Economy. Therefore he who admires the wisdom of God in Nature, ought to admire the wisdom of God far more in the State; seeing that the State surpasses Nature, which lies under unconsciousness and necessity, in the same proportion as she is surpassed by the mind, which has wrought out its own world of reason and freedom in history. The last, deepest foundation-stone, on which the edifice of the State rests, is religion. The free spirit of truth is not satisfied with merely acting according to the letter of the laws. The true moral principles

of action lie in the spirit of religion, in the sanctuary of the conscience, in our feelings : and these are cultivated by Religion, in which our highest moral obligations find their primary source.—The Protestant Church cannot give in to the error of the Romish, according to which the State in itself is a worldly, profane, unholy thing, hereby contrasted with the sacred, divine institution of the Church. Law and Justice, Truth and Morality, the main pillars of the State, are not unholy, profane things. Even when Christianity came into the world, the world was not altogether unholy, but was regulated on all sides by right and law, by order and morality, which Christ Himself and His Apostles declared to be divine institutions.”

With reference to the Jewish Question, by which Germany has long been agitated, from having such a number of Jews mixt up with her population, Marheineke, writing previously to the recent changes, says (p. 565): “Only to the Jews, and to the various Christian Sects, as such, the State has no determinate relation. That is, they are merely tolerated : and this implies that their existence in a separate faith and community is an inevitable evil : the State might be what it is without them. As subjects and citizens on the other hand, the sectarians stand on the same footing with all others.—It is an event of great importance that the Christian State has granted civil rights even to the Jews, who, while they belong to the same civil society, belong also to another people and faith. In comparison with the previous cruel oppression and persecution of the Jews, this is a great advance, whereby the human personality even of a Jew is treated with respect. The further question will be, whether it is possible for the Jew to continue standing at this point, or whether the living according to Christian laws and manners will not of itself be the surest, if not the speediest, mode of converting the Jews. This consummation would be a full justification of the wisdom of the State.” His view, like that of almost all the wisest men in Germany, was that the most desirable plan would be to give the Jews common civil rights, but to restrict the higher political rights to Christians ; and he would have held, with them, that

the opening of the latter to the Jews would be a breach in the Christian character of the State.

NOTE T: p. 39.

That an irreligious, anti-religious spirit was dismally prevalent in France more than half a century ago, is notorious, and that it was not merely confined to the higher and more cultivated classes, but had spread through the whole mass of the nation. So is it that this spirit had produced its natural effects in demoralizing the people. Efforts have indeed been made for the revival of Religion, both among the Roman Catholics, and by the Protestants; and doubtless, when made in a right spirit, they have borne fruit. Much however that has been done in this way has been too exclusively intellectual, dealing with Christianity as a matter of philosophical speculation, or as the principle of beauty in poetry and the arts. Such views of Religion have little power even over those who hold them; while they leave the body of the people gaping and gasping in the wilderness. On the other hand the intellect in France has been continually spawning with the worst abominations, which seem to have exercised a far more extensive influence. Indeed there is reason to fear that the French have little claim in these days to be called a Christian nation: and hence it would have been a mockery to make the profession of Christianity an indispensable condition for a seat in their Legislature.

With regard to Germany, the religious condition of the people was less generally known; wherefore the atrocious outrages which have been committed there, have excited more surprise and horror. Thus much indeed was sufficiently manifest, that various modes of Rationalism and Intellectualism had eaten away the very heart of Christianity in a large portion of those who uttered their thoughts in writing, whether treating of questions directly pertaining to theology, or in any other department of literature. But how far the poison had spread, beyond the precincts of the lecture-room and the literary saloon, how far the mind and heart

of the nation had been infected by it, we in this country had less means of judging; except that it was natural to conclude that what had so long been gathering and spreading among the upper classes, must also have reached the lower. Of this I found a sad confirmation in Tholuck's Dialogues, published in 1846, where he says (p. 27): "It has recently been asserted, that, if the real body of the nation were to speak out, and did not lose their courage in the presence of the clamourers, the witnesses in behalf of our ancient faith would, even in our days, be far the most numerous. Now this I cannot venture to maintain. Our townspeople or tradesmen are undoubtedly a large part of the body of the nation: but among them the honest plan followed by the rationalist ministers since the year 1770,—of not attacking, but merely suppressing, all positive Christian doctrine, of not arguing against it, but merely misrepresenting it,—has produced the best fruits: for the ignorance of Christianity among the laity cannot be more enormous than it is. If such light chaff is borne along by the wind of the spirit of the age, there is nothing to surprise us. Rather, when one takes into account by what terrific representations of priestly domination the people has been deceived, how our political opposition urges and drives on the religious, how delusively that watchword of many meanings, Freedom, sounds, and lastly what an ally unbelief has everywhere in the human heart, would it be a matter of surprise if the preaching of faith met with much general acceptance?" From the same eminent divine I heard with deep regret two years ago,—in reply to a question whether he had observed any important change in the religious condition of his University during the many years he had been a teacher in it,—that, though a very great improvement had taken place in the students of theology, so that a number of candidates for orders were sent out every year animated with true Christian zeal and piety, the laity nevertheless seemed to become more and more alienated from Christianity, and the churches were emptier and emptier.

In such a state of things, when a representative government was introduced, it would have been a monstrous anomaly to insist

that the representatives should make a profession of Christianity. It was on the Jewish Question, as we saw in the passage quoted from Dorner (p. 96), that this point was first tried, which gives us a direct personal interest in the matter. Last year, in the Prussian Diet, the higher political privileges were withheld from the Jews. But on the 21st of March this year the Prussian Government proclaimed the complete equality of all religious Confessions; and the same principle, or rejection of all principle, has since been laid down by the Diet at Frankfort. Hence it concerns us to observe how this immense revolution is regarded by the most sagacious minds in Germany; and with this view I will insert another extract from Dorner.

“What every one without distinction, when he surveys the events which have happened in their connexion, must recognise as a necessity forced upon us by the course of history, and which under the premisses could not be averted, is acknowledged by the Christian to be a Divine ordinance, a Divine judgement: and it is the strength of the Church to look these things in the face. For she knows that for her there are no deadly, but only life-giving judgements. That falsehood in our relations, which so much encouraged sloth and hypocrisy in individuals, and a mechanical formalism in the State, now, having been judged, points the eyes of the Church, both the Protestant and the Roman Catholic, to a sin. Neither of the two has to reproach the other; but each has to reproach itself: and she who does this the most honestly, will indicate the healthiest power of life for the future. The candlestick of the Church has not yet been overthrown; but it has been lowered: it has been taken down from its high position, from which hitherto it gave light to all in the house, even in the house of the State. Christianity has been told that people no longer need its light, that the State hopes to get on quite as well with other lights, and will be guided according to circumstances by their illumination. To speak plainly, it has been conceded, if not to downright irreligion, yet to the principles of other religions which stand in hostile opposition to the Christian, that they may bear part

in legislating for and governing the German nation, in the same manner in which the Christian principle has done hitherto. That this should have happened, nay, that it should be relatively an advantage, points to a great sin on the part of the Christian Church. The day is come, when living fruits were sought upon her tree, the fruits *for the healing of the nations*. But we, trusting in security and spiritual sloth to the Christianizing power of infant baptism or of holy water, relying on all manner of spiritual traditions, on the moral and religious influence of decayed institutions, or, it may be, on the cunning fictions of an inexhaustible ingenuity, we have neglected to cherish the gift of the free creative Spirit of God in ourselves, and to seek the lost, to gather the scattered, in self-sacrificing love. When I speak of this as a sin of Christians, I mean not thereby to acquit the world, as estranged from the Church, of sin. But I feel no vocation in me to accuse the world. It did what it could not help doing: for it is swayed by the law, not of freedom, but of necessity. Besides, it knew not what it did. We on the contrary knew what we ought to do, and yet did it not. Therefore is the time come, when, according to St Peter (1. iv. 17), *Judgement must begin at the house of God*. He adds indeed, *If it first begin at us, what shall the end be of those who obey not the gospel of God*. If the Church however puts forth fresh leaves in her state of humiliation, stripping off the dead in the spirit of repentance, and enlivening the old and dry by a new divine power, drawing back from that entanglement with the world, which has surpast her strength, into a life of contemplation, ere long, I hope, the world too would be less withered: nay, much that is now dried up, would be snatcht as a brand from the fire. The nearest coming judgement on the godless, selfish, irreligious world would be the shaking and overthrow of that, which it too regards as an advantage, the foundations of all human order. Only let the House of God, now that judgement begins at it, be led to repentance. If the Church be, as it were, baptized and hallowed anew with the fire of the Holy Spirit, consuming whatever is impure in her, she will again prove herself to be that salt of the

world, which resists its corruption and total dissolution. In the world too will the power of order and of government be strengthened afresh by a revived esteem for the law, and by the public spirit of true patriotism, which seeks, not to rule, but to serve. And then that judgement will spare the world, in proportion as the world opens its heart to a new and deeper reception of Christianity. Therefore I will not accuse the world, which cannot help itself. Rather do I wish that Christians may not be able to deliver their conscience from the feeling of punishment, from the feeling that God has in these days been hiding Himself from them, until, being impelled to search into their sins and their negligences, they find a fresh source of new courage and new strength in God. Instead of unprofitable complaints about what we have lost, instead of straining our faculties to reestablish what is tumbling in ruins, may we be brought to recognise that the chasm between our legal ordinances and institutions, and the spirit which prevails in the people, was actually existing,—that the German people, as a whole, does not pay homage to the principles of Christianity, and therefore that the hollow semblance ought not to be retained. That semblance has fallen away before God's judgement. The truth has come to light. If we recognise the real state of affairs, without giving ourselves up to fictions, either of optimism or pessimism, the truth, sad as it is, may be salutary.—

“It is true, the State has not yet proclaimed itself atheistic. It is true, our new federal code might without falsehood adopt this paragraph: *the majority of Germans profess Christianity*. But can we expect this? Nay can we even wish it? As a piece of statistical information, it would be idle and perplexing; as a similar proposition was in the late French Charter. As a legal statement, it is already precluded by the recent legislation in many of our particular States, and even of the National Diet. The absolute equality of political rights, without regard to any religious Confession, will probably be taken under the protection of our new Federal Constitution.* Then will Atheism itself be politically legitimized in the new German Empire, and will

* Dorner was writing at the beginning of April.

enjoy all the same rights with faith in God and in Christianity. Much is now said about oaths to the Constitution: but the new German State will not merely refrain from imposing an oath upon Memnonites, but also upon those who could not swear without hypocrisy, since they do not believe in God. Or shall we retain oaths at all? Shall we not in this also follow the pattern of the French? However this may be, at best one case is as possible as the other. The Church therefore has to consider whether it can continue on its former understanding with a State, which may perhaps before long be atheistic in principle,—whether she can receive mandates from it with regard to her own concerns, even should they be to her advantage. Moreover everything is not religion that anybody may call so. At least the Christian Church cannot recognise it as such. Supposing then that the State should still require some sort of religious confession, whatever each person chooses, this in the eyes of the Church would not differ essentially from conferring a political legitimacy on downright Atheism. Or will our modern State engage to decide how far Pantheism, for instance, the worship of humanity, or of our own nature, is religion? Therefore, under the new order of things, we shall have to take a politically legitimized Atheism into the bargain. A professor of actual Atheism may not merely sit in the ranks of our highest legislators and administrators; but, as such, he is just as much entitled as a professor of Christianity, and will have just the same right, to promote the interests of his own opinions, in discharging the duties of his office, for instance, by promoting atheistical institutions, and by oppressing the Christian Church. It may pain many an honest German heart, that the infinite majority who still believe in God, are allowing the infinite minority who do not believe in Him, to force a form of constitution upon them which they regard as godless, and to destroy that form of constitution which they would otherwise deem the best; that is to say,—since at this extreme point the only alternative is between victory and defeat, and an equality of rights is impossible,—that the minority should conquer, and the majority be conquered. Our confused notions of freedom and equality, and the decay of

the sober fear of God amongst us, have reduced us to such a condition, that the majority, although they believe in God, yet shrink, as from a wrong, from maintaining this faith in action, and from using the power of their superior numbers to establish that form of constitution, which is connected with God and with religion, and proceeds from the axiom of the moral necessity of faith in God. Be it therefore the case, that, by the admission of Atheism to full political rights in the ancient holy German Empire, the majority are sacrificed to a spiritually diseased minority, and consequently that this measure is unjust, irrational, and perhaps also of brief duration, yet, at the present moment, that moral personality, with which the Church had to deal in our ancient State, in point of principle no longer exists, but is extinguished. If it be said that, in point of fact at least, the religious personality of our ancient State is still subsisting partially, and has not entirely waned away,—and if we are reminded of all those modes of action and institutions which the State has hitherto promoted and protected, and which the Church also regarded as part of her establishment,—which the modern State will perhaps still allow to subsist, for the sake of the Christian majority, even, it may be, under the guardianship of the Church; I quite agree that such things are not to be thrown away,—for that there is a blessing in them; and I am far from thinking that the Church ought to abandon her Divine Ideal, and to extend the rent into those regions into which it has not already penetrated. But the consequence from this is merely, that her aim must be henceforward, as hitherto, to awaken a Christian life in the people, not that she can continue in her former union with the State.”

This picture of the condition of Germany is gloomy indeed; though it is a consolation to find there are teachers in the German Church, at this moment of her uttermost need, endowed with such clearness of Christian wisdom and faith. It may be contended that the analogy between the condition of Germany and that of England is one of contrast, rather than of similarity. This is true. Through God's mercy, in spite of all our failings, of all our shortcomings, of all our errors and controversies and

animosities, in spite of all our manifold accumulated sins, we are still a Christian people. The heart of the nation is sound. The preachers of infidelity have not been able to corrupt it. In all classes the professors of Christianity are an overwhelming majority; and there has been a great increase, I believe we may say confidently, of real living Christianity in the last thirty years. But what does this prove? If the reason for abandoning the Christian principle of our Legislature, which exists so wofully in Germany, does not exist in England, why are we to abandon it? If we are a Christian people, and if Christianity, while it has been declining elsewhere, has been gaining strength through God's blessing in England, why are we no longer to have a Christian Legislature? Why are we to do that, which the Germans are doing under the compulsion of a dire necessity, but which their wisest men deplore, as the symptom at least of a most disastrous condition, as the breaking of a tie that has endured for a millenium and a half. Is it seemly thus to sweep away that to which antiquity has given such a sanctity, without any call of principle whatsoever, without any pressure of necessity, without any motive of expediency, rather in violation of the ancient principles of the Constitution, and in defiance of manifold expediency, out of what really seems little else than a wanton spirit of diletantte liberalism?

NOTE U: p. 40.

That the admission of Jews into Parliament will unchristianize our Legislature, has been asserted by the opponents of that measure, and strenuously denied by its advocates. Indeed the Bishop of St David's speaks of this argument as a fallacy he is almost ashamed to advert to. "How often (he says, p. 17), has this objection been confuted by the simple observation, that the Legislature, after this measure shall have been past,—will remain Christian, exactly in the same sense, and precisely in the same proportion, as the country itself is Christian!" To me, I confess, this argument, if it had been used by a less subtile reasoner,

would have seemed a palpable fallacy. For surely one of the worst modes of determining the characteristic properties of any aggregate is to sum up the characteristics of what is so variable as the majority of its members. Bacon has said, with his peculiar felicity of illustration: "The inferring a general position from a nude enumeration of particulars, without an instance contradictory, is vicious: nor doth such an induction infer more than a probable conjecture that there is no repugnant principle undiscovered: as if Samuel should have rested in those sons of Jesse who were brought before him in the house, and should not have sought David, who was absent in the field." The Christian character of the English nation does not result solely from the fact that the majority of its members are Christian, but from the manner in which Christianity has ever been an essential principle in all its institutions. As a nation we are Christians, because we have a Christian Government, a Christian Legislature, and because that Government and Legislature have hitherto been bound indissolubly to the faith and Church of Christ. This being the case, the presence of a few thousand Jewish sojourners does not modify the character of the nation. Nor would it destroy that character, even if they were far more numerous; as the character of the Athenian democracy is determined by that of the Athenian Demus, without regard to the *μέτοικοι* and the slaves, though these far outnumbered the citizens. A man with a wooden leg is a man, not because the majority of his limbs are of flesh and bone, but because he has the living principle of humanity in him. In our case too all the members are perfect: the wooden leg is merely an external appendage.

On this point Mr Gladstone seems to me to come nearer the truth, when he says (p. 31): "I can well believe that to many, and I freely allow that to myself, it is painful thus to part with even the title of an exclusive Christianity inscribed upon the portals of the Constitution. Yet (he adds) to qualify this title, as we are now askt to qualify it, to surrender it as a universal and exclusive title, is not to deprive ourselves of such substantial Christianity as we may really now possess. Advantage is not

unfairly taken in debate of a word: but when it is said that we unchristianize the Parliament, while it may be true in name,—and I would not deny it,—I must ask, is it true in substance?” Thereupon, to escape the inference which would be fatal to his cause, he has recourse to the same unsatisfactory argument, that the Christianity of the Legislature is to be determined, like that of the Nation, by that of the majority. Yet on the admission of the Romanists our Parliament ceast to be a Protestant Parliament. How comes it that the admission of the Jews is not to produce a like change?

That the Christian tone of our parliamentary debates must needs be lowered by the admission of Jews, was maintained with cogent force by the Bishop of Oxford in his masterly speech on the second reading of the Bill, a speech by which it is probable that the majority against the Bill was considerably augmented, and which, like his speech at the meeting of the National Society, was an important benefit to our Church. On this head it has been replied, that the entrance of a few solitary Jews could hardly exercise any material influence, and that we are not to suppose that more than half-a-dozen will be returned. To this argument, which compromises its own cause, so far as it rests on the ground that very few are affected by the exclusion, it is a sufficient rejoinder, that, according to the rules of all good breeding, the presence of a single individual, holding a different persuasion, will check the free expression of the sentiments from which he differs. Indeed the presence of one would be a stronger restraint upon a gentleman, than if parties were nearly balanced. But when we take account of the peculiar advantages which the higher class among the Jews possess for rising in the political world, and when we call to mind how these have been exhibited of late by the presence of two Jews, if not, as has been said, three, among the ten members of the Provisional Government in France, while several, I know not how many, have been acting a conspicuous part in the recent politics of Germany, we may doubt whether the number of Jewish members of Parliament would indeed be so very insignificant.

Moreover there is a further important consideration. It has been said, that the declaration by which religious Jews are excluded from Parliament, has not availed to exclude avowed infidels, such as Gibbon and Bolingbroke. Now of course no declaration can exclude those who do not scruple to lie in making it. But is that a reason for rejecting all such declarations? Is it ^a reason for rejecting the use of words, and the confidence in them, that some people follow Talleyrand's maxim of using them to conceal their thoughts? At all events the declaration is so far effectual, that, if an unbeliever were to enter Parliament now, he would be incapable of avowing his infidelity. Every member of the Legislature is bound by his declaration to promote the interests of Christianity, or, at the very least, to refrain from injuring it, either in deed or in word. Should any be shameless enough to do so, the outcry which would be provoked, could not now be repressed by a protest that *We are not Christians here*. But if this restraint, which the principles of our Constitution impose upon covert infidelity, were removed,—and, when Jews are admitted, I see not how any form of enmity to Christianity could long be excluded from our Legislature, any more than from the French and German,—it may be that some, which may now be latent, would find vent. How much there may be, I have no means of judging. In former periods of our history, we know, there has been much. Possibly there may be less at present. If so, let us be thankful. But at all events let us abstain from creating any encouragement, or any facilities, for its utterance or its increase.

Some people indeed, taking up the slang of the day, may object, that the cause of truth and honesty can only be promoted by our getting rid of every kind of sham, and therefore that, if there be any latent unbelief in our Parliament, it ought to be uttered boldly and unhesitatingly. But what should we say to the Board of Health, if they were to order all the cesspools in the country to be uncovered, lest we should affect to be cleaner than we are? This whole mode of thought is utterly fallacious, from not duly recognising the great struggle in our nature,

the constant presence of evil, which good at the utmost can only suppress, never wholly expell. Are laws useless, because they cannot eradicate the seeds of evil, but only repress their grosser manifestations? Are manners useless, because they can only restrain the vicious from exposing their grosser vices in the sight of day? O, we need every check, every help, for our frail, tottering virtue: and all are too few. We all need them individually; and we need them no less nationally. Nor are they falsehoods, or shams, but rather props and pillars of truth, which keep us from falling headlong into the snares of the Father of lies. We are not made to walk naked in heart and mind, any more than in body; and if we did, we should be falser than we are. *Α'ιδωε* has ever been a chief support of Truth, as of every other virtue.

NOTE V: p. 47.

Thus Horsley, in some interesting Letters on the prophecies concerning Antichrist, which were published in *the British Magazine* for 1834, says (p. 135): "I confess, I am not so well satisfied as you seem to be with that interpretation of Rev. vi. 12—17, which finds the accomplishment of that vision in the suppression of idolatry by the Christian Emperors. I think it cannot be understood of anything less than the final overthrow of Antichrist by our Lord at His coming. I admit, that darkness in the sun and moon, and a falling of the stars, are images in frequent use among the prophets, to denote the overthrow of empires, or the fall of mighty potentates. But in this passage of the Revelation these images are amplified to the utmost."

NOTE W: p. 50.

A fashion has grown up of late, to apologize for, and even to extoll, the former French Revolution, on account of the benefits, such as those mentioned in the text, which have resulted from it. But this is much as if a person were to fall in love with

a hurricane, because it purifies the air, without taking count of the desolation which it spreads around. Doubtless a pestilence too, in the order of Providence, has its purificatory power. In this manner the judgement of History will often reverse the judgement of contemporaries. Yet they are not inconsistent: only contemporaries look at the agents, at their motives and characters; History looks rather at the acts, and their consequences. Though man must not do evil that good may come, History recognises that good does come out of evil. This however does not justify the evil, or the evil-doer.

NOTE X : p. 54.

The *Democratie Pacifique* for the 9th of last April opens with an article entitled *La Pâque de la France*, which is a truly awful example of the extravagances of the modern revolutionary pantheistic fanaticism. It turns upon the appointment of Easter Sunday as the day on which the members of the National Assembly were to be elected.

“ Par une remarquable coïncidence le jour où la nation française doit exercer cette pleine souveraineté dont elle a été privée si longtemps, c’est le jour de Pâque, le jour où le Christ est ressuscité d’entre les morts. La France va faire ses pâques; elle va communier dans une grande pensée de régénération; elle va célébrer le jour de la résurrection du Sauveur en rentrant en possession d’elle-même, en manifestant sa volonté souveraine. Pour les Juifs, Pâque était la délivrance, l’affranchissement du joug des Pharaons; pour les Chrétiens, Pâque était la résurrection, la victoire remportée sur la mort par l’Homme-dieu; pour la France en 1848, Pâque doit être la glorification définitive du Christ, du peuple, de l’humanité. Quand Jésus fut ressuscité, il ne vécut que quarante jours sur la terre; il n’y vécut que d’une vie incomplète, isolée, mystérieuse; car la terre était encore une vallée de larmes; la terre était soumise à la domination de César, de César qui avait crucifié Jésus. Le règne du Christ n’était pas encore de ce monde, et la résurrection elle-même.

n'avait pu triompher de Satan et de César. La Pâque chrétienne n'était donc qu'un symbole, une figure, une promesse de la résurrection définitive. Ressuscité d'entre les morts, le Christ ne pouvait habiter d'autre séjour que les cieux, domaine de l'infini. Il s'y élança, le quarantième jour après sa résurrection ; et, dix jours après, il envoya le Saint Esprit à ses apôtres. Mais il leur promit de revenir sur la terre, dans toute sa puissance et sa gloire. Eh bien ! malgré des efforts inouis le Christ n'a pu encore revenir sur la terre ; il n'a pu ressusciter glorieux dans l'humanité ; il est toujours sur la croix où l'a attaché César, il y a dix huit siècles ; et le peuple, qui est l'image vivante du Christ, porte toujours sa croix d'indigence et de servitude.—O France très chrétienne ! cette promesse ne serait-elle donc qu'une déception ? Et si elle est une vérité, le moment n'est-il pas enfin venu de l'accomplir ? O France très chrétienne ! n'est ce pas toi surtout qui a mission de ressusciter le Christ glorieux dans l'humanité ? N'est ce pas toi qui a été choisie entre toutes les nations pour détacher le peuple de sa croix séculaire, pour inaugurer la pâque définitive du genre humain, pour donner à la fois le précepte et l'exemple de la fraternité ? Non, non, la France ne sera point infidèle à cette grande et sainte mission ; elle saura l'accomplir en révolutionnant, comme en organisant, en détruisant, comme en édifiant ; elle saura trouver dans son âme des trésors de génie et d'amour, pour pratiquer et faire pratiquer au monde la fraternité universelle. Par la force de sa volonté souveraine la France fera descendre le Christ des cieux sur la terre. Après quatorze siècles de batailles et de révolutions, la France a désormais vaincu César ; elle a proclamé la République chrétienne, et préparé le retour glorieux du Fils de l'Homme. Oui, ce retour glorieux du Christ, cette résurrection définitive de l'Homme-Dieu, nous y touchons. Qui pourrait en douter ? Les signes des temps ne se manifestent-ils pas de toutes parts ? Le genre humain tressaille d'espoir à l'idée que la crucifixion va finir, que la glorification va commencer. A cette heure même combien de peuples ne donnent-ils pas leur sang pour cette idée ? derniers martyrs de la promesse divine ! Eh quoi ! la France ne

vient-elle pas aussi de donner son sang, et n'éprouve-t-elle pas un frisson prophétique, en agitant encore la bannière où elle inscrivit cette trinité sainte : *Liberté, égalité, fraternité*? Et ce nouveau cri qu'elle fait entendre : *Organisation du travail!* n'est-il pas comme la voix de l'ange annonçant au monde la *Résurrection définitive du Christ*? Oui, voici le jour de la résurrection! Voici la pâque de la France, qui sera aussi la pâque de l'humanité! Oui, en l'an de grâce 1848, il n'est pas un bon républicain, qui ne doive faire ses pâques, en votant pour la réalisation de cette devise chrétienne : *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité!* Français! Venez, venez tous communier dans une même pensée de régénération sociale; votez tous pour l'association intégrale et universelle, pour l'organisation de la vie nouvelle dans la commune, dans la nation, dans l'humanité; élisez ceux qui savent, qui veulent, et qui peuvent mener à bien cette grande œuvre de charité, d'égalité, et de fraternité, et vous ressusciterez le Christ glorieux! Venez donc à cette communion sainte, dans laquelle vous créerez et recevrez en même temps le pain de vie, et par laquelle vous rendrez à jamais le Christ vivant en vous et dans le monde! Approchez-vous de l'urne du scrutin, pleins de confiance dans les destinées de la France, et de l'humanité; approchez-vous de cette sainte table où vous recevrez et donnerez la divine eucharistie, où, en conférant le pouvoir à ceux qui ont déjà le savoir, vous puiserez vous-mêmes en eux une force nouvelle!"

I have not transcribed this mass of wild and profane nonsense for the sake of the disgust which it must needs excite in every soberminded English Christian, but because it is desirable that the Church should know what enemies she has to combat with. For the sentiments here exprest are not the ravings of a solitary madman. In one form or other they are diffused, I am afraid, far and wide, and are exercising no slight influence; and there are men, who would otherwise shrink from crime, yet who would not be slow to commit it for the sake of realizing their extravagant visions. The very fact, that Easter Sunday was appointed for the election of the National Assembly, had itself a national significance; and various indications shewed that this significance was

connected in the minds of many with delusions approximating, more or less, to those express in the *Democratie Pacifique*.

The pantheistic view has ever been apt to regard our Lord as a type of humanity, both in His nature, and in His history : and doubtless there is a portion of important truth mixt up with this error, the truth which is express scripturally by the union between Christ and the Church. Moreover, as ever happens, when numbers of people, who are not lying to their own hearts, are carried away by any delusion, there is also an important political truth conveyed, however vaguely and distortedly, in the extravagant language we have been quoting ; a truth which it would seem to be the special calling of our age to bring forward in its power and majesty. They who talk in this manner about Christianity, are persuaded that Christianity has something to do, not merely with our individual hearts and consciences, with our domestic relations, and our duties to our immediate neighbours, but also with the political life of nations, with our widest social relations, with our agriculture, our commerce, our trade, with our courts of justice, our Parliament, the councils of our Kings, with all the functions of Government. Their views on these subjects are very dim, very confused ; but they feel that they have got hold of a truth here, and that this truth has never yet been duly recognised, explicitly and in act, though in principle it has ever been implied by the union of the modern State with Christianity. Still, they feel, it has never exercised more than a small portion of that mighty healing power, which it ought to exercise on all the political and social relations of mankind. They feel that, in this great region of life, the purpose of Christ's coming has never yet been accomplisht. And who will dare to say that it has ? Even if the saving and healing influence of Christianity on the moral and spiritual lives of individual Christians had been a hundredfold deeper and more extensive than it ever has been, surely we should still have to admit that this improvement by itself would not be enough ; nay, that there must be something very unsatisfactory and hollow in it, unless it were manifested by a corresponding improvement in our political and social life. Of

course it would be so ; and the miserable condition of the latter is an irrefragable proof of the superficialness of the former. Can we wonder then, if there are persons, who, being earnestly desirous of seeing their fellow-creatures happy, when they look round and discern the enormous mass of misery in the world, the abject wretchedness and degradation under which such vast swarms of human beings are continually suffering in Christian countries, in countries which have been lying for eight or ten centuries, or even more, beneath the light of Christianity, are moved to ask, *Was it for this that Christ died ? was it for this that He rose again ? Is this the fulfilment of the blessings which were to wait upon the coming of the Kingdom of Heaven ?*

To such questions we can only return the same answer as the French Socialists, *No*. Surely it behoves us to say to them, *We recognise all these evils quite as much as you do ; we deplore them quite as much ; we agree with you in thinking that they should not be allowed to continue, and that it is the prime duty of every Christian society to employ its utmost wisdom and energy in taking care that such evils shall not arise within its territories, or that, if they should arise, they shall be removed and extirpated. Besides we hold as firmly as you can do, that it is the proper work of Christianity,—and a work which no other power can effect,—that it is the work of Christian wisdom, and of Christian temperance, and of Christian diligence and perseverance, and of Christian love, to prevent all such evils, to check and abate them, to remove and extirpate them. Only we also see other evils, of which you appear to take little or no count, evils still greater, still more widely diffused, still more terrible and crushing, still more obstinate in resisting every effort to cure them, the sins, the vices, the fraud, the greediness, the blighting selfishness, the reckless self-indulgence, the deadening licentiousness and intemperance, the falsehood, the utter godlessness, which spread witheringly, not through one class of society merely, but through all, which are ever breeding new forms of misery, and which baffle all attempts to relieve them. These are the real causes and sources of all our national, of all our political, of all our social evils. These too, and all the other*

forms of sin, which spring out of our want of faith, out of our estrangement from God, are the evils from which Christ especially came to deliver mankind, by His blessed Passion and Resurrection; and, until mankind rise out of these evils, the work of His Passion, the work of His Resurrection will be incomplete. Moreover it is only by repressing these more terrible fontal evils, that the evils which flow from them can be effectually abated. The work of Governments is indeed mainly to relieve and repress the latter. They have no power of contending against the former. They leave that to Religion, in Christian countries to Christianity, which alone has the real power. But for this very reason no change, which merely affects the form of a Government, can deserve to be glorified with the sacred name of the Resurrection. A change worthy to bear that name must take place in the inner world of man's spiritual nature.

Now this, which is the main point, the all in all, in the Christian view of Christ's work, is almost entirely left out of account in the French speculations concerning it. The authors of them forget sin. They forget that Christ came to deliver us from our sins, from the burthen of our own sins, not merely from the oppression inflicted upon us by those of others. They seem wholly to forget that they themselves, and that all human beings, have a sinful nature, which we have all made far worse by giving way to it and indulging it, and from which we need to be delivered, before we can in any way become partakers in the blessings of Christ's Resurrection. They appear to fancy that the only evils of much importance in the world, are those which are caused by the vices of kings and their ministers, and that if these are removed by the destruction of the authorities which have bred them, the whole world will become brimfull of happiness in a trice,—Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity will dance over the earth,—and all nations will be swallowed up in a deluge of Love. The childish visionariness of the notions broacht by men, who might otherwise be deemed intelligent, is quite portentous. All the lessons taught by the history of the world,—all the lessons written in characters of fire and blood by the events of their own former Revolution,—

all the lessons which every man ought to learn by looking into his own heart,—are thrown overboard, as a ship will throw its cargo overboard, when a hurricane is sweeping it along. No wonder then that the deep and momentous truths, which are imprest upon us by the ordinance that the long penitential season of Lent should come before the joyous Resurrection of Easter, are wholly lost sight of by this newfangled religious sentimentalism. These French mockers and perverters of Christian truth fancy that they shall rise again, that they shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, without repentance, or so much as a thought of it. They fancy that they shall become sharers in the blessedness of Christ's Resurrection, without entering in any way into the communion of His sufferings. But these things cannot be. They tell us that they shall bring Christ down by the sovereign will of the people to reign upon earth. Just as reasonably might they talk of dragging down the sun from the sky, to serve them instead of fires, by the sovereign will of the people. In fact this is their main delusion,—this is the idol they worship,—the will of man, the will of the people, which everybody, as was seen continually in the former Revolution, and as we have seen daily this year, identifies with his own will.

I do not mean, that political institutions are altogether indifferent, and can produce no effect upon the moral character of the people. Free institutions, as they afford ampler opportunities for the action of certain manly virtues, tend to foster them, in a condition of society where the germs of them are already existing. This however must be a work of time, of years, nay, of successive generations. It cannot manifest itself at once, by a magical change. Universal suffrage is not a Harlequin's wand,—though the French seem almost to regard it as such,—by which a nation of sordid, unprincipled rogues, as they declare themselves to have been under the Government they have expelled, can be transformed into a nation of disinterested, magnanimous heroes. So far from it, that, in its action upon corrupt hearts, it can only supply free scope and licence for the exhibition of their corruption; just as the enfranchisement of slaves, who have not been

previously prepared for freedom, is much like the letting loose of wild beasts, and sets all their vices running riot.

The thoughts thus called up constrain us to remember that a twofold Resurrection is spoken of, not only a Resurrection to life, but also a Resurrection to condemnation. Nor can we forget that, when the former Revolution broke out, then also, as at the first outbreak of the present,

A golden palace rose, or seemed to rise,
The appointed seat of equitable Law,
And mild paternal sway.—Prophetic harps
In every grove were ringing, *War shall cease.*
Did ye not hear that conquest is abjured?
Bring garlands, bring forth choicest flowers to deck
The Tree of Liberty. . . .
Be joyful, all ye nations, in all lands
Ye that are capable of joy be glad.
Henceforth whate'er is wanting to yourselves,
In others ye shall promptly find, and all
Be rich by mutual and reflected wealth.

The poet adds, "Scorn and contempt forbid me to proceed." When a poet in some future generation is looking back upon the events of this year, will he not have to speak of the bursting of our bubble in the same bitter language? At all events, as the past must ever be our criterion for judging of the present, when we call to mind that the nation which is enacting this Revolution, is the same which enacted the former, and that, though its character must no doubt have been considerably modified by the events of the last sixty years, yet there are scanty traces of its having gone through that preparatory discipline, which is indispensable for the Resurrection to life, we cannot but feel an awe-stricken foreboding, lest this Revolution also, like the former, should bear much more of the character of the Resurrection to condemnation.

For what is the test whereby we are to judge whether a man, or any body of men,—and this will apply to a nation also,—are partakers of the blessings of Christ's Resurrection? If we are risen with Christ, we must seek those things which are above; we must set our affections on things above, not on things on the

earth. Now is there the slightest indication of anything like this, in the recent acts of the French people, or of their leaders? Even allowing their rulers, their speechmakers, and their writers, to be thoroughly sincere and in earnest, are not the very highest objects, which they even profess to aim at, things on the earth? not even moral excellences, not even those heroic qualities which the legislators and reformers of the ancient world endeavoured to cultivate; but mere physical comforts and indulgences. They do not seem to have a notion of anything beyond. If we take St Paul's next test, that they who are risen with Christ, must mortify their earthly members, fornication, uncleanness, inordinate desires, evil lusts, and covetousness, is there a spot upon earth where the whole people are more remote from all such mortification than at Paris? Do we not know, from every account of French society, from the loathsome exposures in their courts of justice, and from the pestilential effluvia of their literature, that they do not even regard such mortification as desirable, that they do not think of aiming at it, that they rather eschew and scorn it? Nay, has it not been boasted of, as the peculiar glory of the new era, that it will lead to the emancipation of the flesh, that is, to the abolition of every sacred bond by which the licence of the flesh is repress; in other words, to the unrestrained indulgence of every animal passion, of every brutish appetite?

What hope then of anything like a Resurrection can be grounded on such a foundation? There are three steps or stages, along which we must mount, or rather be raised by the Spirit of God, into the fellowship of Christ's Resurrection; and these are markt by the more and more complete subjugation of and deliverance from that sinful nature, the rising out of which is the true idea and purpose of the Resurrection. These three stages are self-controll, self-denial, self-sacrifice. He who has ascended these three steps, which none can mount, save through the help of the Holy Spirit,—he who is enabled to live in the exercise of these three powers over himself, not occasionally and by fits and starts, but habitually,—is risen out of his carnal nature; and this world of death has no dominion over him. Miserably few however and poor are the tokens of these spirits'

perceivable in the revolutionary proceedings of the French, while the opposite vices are rank and rampant. But, without these three Christian graces, there can be no national renewal, or regeneration, or Resurrection. Without these, we must still continue under the bondage of self, under the yoke of our will, of our own passions, children of Death, and not children of the Resurrection. Without these, there can be nothing more than a caricature of those blessed heavenly realities, such as Satan is fond of enacting at times, when, to gain his own purposes more securely and completely, he puts on the form of an angel of light. But this delusive phantom lasts only for a while: when it is most showy, the hoof may be discerned by those who have eyes to look for it; and ere long the whole monster is disclosed in all his hideous deformity.

There is indeed, as I have acknowledged, a germ of truth hidden in this bloated French delusion, namely, that Christianity has never yet exercised the power which she ought to have exercised, —and which she would have exercised, unless men's vices had continually unnerved her arm, and thwarted and checked her efforts,—on the political and social condition of mankind. Some blessed fruits have indeed sprung from her influence, among which I will only mention one of the most blessed,—the position which women now hold, especially in Protestant countries, when compared with their position among the Heathens. But even in this, as in all our other social relations, many things are still very defective and wrong, in consequence of our unbelief and hardness of heart, in consequence of our not having made a right use of the blessed privileges which God has placed within our reach, in consequence of our having all sought our own gratification, our own ease, our own pleasure, instead of the glory of God, and the good of our fellow-creatures. This we have all done, high and low, rich and poor, learned and simple, in England, as in all other countries. Hence have these calamities befallen the other nations of Europe. Hence too have we been threatened with somewhat similar calamities; the danger of which we must not suppose to have past away, until their causes are effectually removed. Through God's

mercy we have hitherto been signally preserved ; and through that mercy we shall still be preserved, if we give heed to the warnings which we are receiving from all sides. When other nations are boasting of rising again, we should recollect that we also are called to do so, not indeed in the same way, but in a better and surer. That we may fulfill this our high calling, let us not forget or neglect the penitential offices which must precede it. Let us all, high and low, acknowledge all those sins against the great law of Christ, whereby the social and political improvement of our nation has hitherto been so grievously impeded. Let us make the confession continually to ourselves, to each other, to the people, to God, stirring up ourselves and each other and the whole people to cast away those sins, by endeavouring earnestly and diligently to do what we have hitherto left undone. This will be the right preparation for a true political Easter. O let us here in England bear ever in mind,—we are less excusable than other nations if we forget it,—that, without a moral regeneration, there can be no political regeneration. The history of all nations, Heathen as well as Christian, teaches us this. As Christians, we know further, that the only sure and lasting source of a moral regeneration is a spiritual regeneration. A political regeneration without these is a mere phantom, a dream, a mist, a castle in the air, a palace among the clouds, from which anon will issue lightning and thunder. Let us all strive assiduously to attain to these three modes of regeneration. In no case have we ever striven enough ; mostly we have shamefully neglected it. But let all classes beware of being led astray by the notion, that we can advance in the course of our political regeneration by acts destructive of our moral and spiritual regeneration, by acts which outrage the Conscience and violate the sanctities of Duty. Such acts can only lead to the Resurrection of condemnation.

NOTE Y: p. 62.

The quotations I have inserted above from Dorner, shew with what feelings the political events of this year are viewed by the

leading minds in the German Protestant Church, as a warning to repent, to set their house in order, and to be more diligent in the discharge of their duties. Ecclesiastically they are regarded as a special call on the Church to frame a constitution for herself and thus to complete the work, which, through the compulsion of outward circumstances, was left unfinished at the Reformation. In this spirit Kling, one of the most eminent among the younger German divines, says in the Monthly Journal of the Evangelical Church in the Rhenish provinces for the month of June: "We are still in the midst of the movement. The sword of dissension and insurrection is still waving here and there; and opposite interests are engaging in a fierce conflict. We are still threatened on more than one side with a bloody war; and what internal disorders and convulsions this might produce we know not. The new order of things is only beginning to shape itself; and its rudest outlines are lying indistinctly before our eyes. What consequences it may produce with regard to the Church, how our ecclesiastical life will stand in reference to this overthrow of all our social relations, is still very obscure: and we only know thus much, that, come what may, the Lord, to whom all power is given in Heaven and on earth, and who has promised to be with His own, with those who believe in Him and love Him, unto the end of the world,—that He, the Faithful and True, who is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, will not leave His promise unfulfilled, that the gates of hell shall not prevail against the Church, which is built on the faithful confession of His name,—that His kingdom shall endure, although the mightiest thrones should fall, and though all order, firmly as it may have seemed to stand, should be subverted.—But we should by no means fulfill our duty as evangelical Christians, if we were merely to look on at the course of affairs, and calmly await what each coming day may bring forth, merely mindful to preserve a Christian temper of mind and to discharge the immediate ordinary duties of our special calling. An extraordinary crisis demands extraordinary activity.—A Christian must not content himself with complaining of revolutionary designs, of the manner in which the people are deceived by

self-seeking, ambitious, vain men. He is bound to exert himself, according to his station, as a free citizen, in all openness and sincerity, be it only by his presence and his vote, and, where he has an opportunity, by an honest and reasonable discussion with his well disposed fellow-citizens, so that such evil-minded enterprises may be brought to shame, and that our free deliberations may produce a good result, or at least the best which under existing circumstances is possible.—Thus, by taking part in public affairs, with that simplicity which includes wisdom, and that wisdom which includes simplicity, he will win confidence; and while he hopes and trusts in the Lord, who rules the hearts of nations as well as of princes, who can bring good out of evil, can perfect that which is defective, and can mould our new frame of things, even though at first it should have a less righteous and godly character, nay, one dangerous and hostile to Christian truth and goodness, for the furtherance of His kingdom,—while he thus hopes for good, and comes forward trustfully, so far as he can and may, to meet those with whom he is brought into contact, in that love which believes all things and hopes all things, he will also be listened to with confidence; and, if he knows how to catch the right moment, his faithful and intelligent testimony in behalf of truth, of religion, and of the essential religious and moral groundwork of all civil and social prosperity, will find acceptance. Thus he will be able to act for that which he regards as the highest of all things, and that too more effectually and widelier, than would otherwise have been possible. A time when everything is loosened and torn up, is a time for sowing: then is the earth unusually receptive for all kinds of seed, good and bad.—Only herein our conduct should be guided by an honorable adherence to the state of things brought about by that Divine Providence, without which nothing takes place; so that we must never even think of forming a party for the restoration of that which has been overthrown and destroyed, but must fix our aim solely on acting for the cause of justice and order and the public good in the new frame of our civil life, on turning whatever possibilities for the bettering of our social relations may lie therein, with all diligence and prudence, into realities, and on doing our utmost

to engraft our new institutions with those religious and moral principles, which are the foundation of all lasting security and of all true prosperity. This however is not to be effected merely by the word of doctrine, of reproof, of exhortation, of admonition, but still more by our conduct, by the spirit of truth and honesty, of love and uprightness, of humility and modesty, of self-denial and affectionate confidence, of seriousness and mildness, manifesting itself in all that we do and leave undone. In proportion as it is thus seen and felt that we are not seeking our own good, but that of others, and of the public, that we are ready, in all disinterestedness, to serve and help every one according to his need and to our ability, and that, while we disapprove and condemn whatever comes from an impure source, and boldly resist violence and evil, we can at the same time bear with weakness, and endeavour to be mild and gentle,—in the same proportion will a word of doctrine and admonition, of warning and reproof, proceeding from us, find reception; and the testimony which we bear to the Gospel by our actions, may also find utterance in words. More especially will it produce a good impression, and one advantageous to the cause of truth, if we take a lively and loving interest in everything which relates to the removal of our present distresses, and of those social mis-relations which are a main source of them; if therefore, with all good faith and unwearied zeal, according to our gifts and our position, we strive with word and deed, in our own circle, that those who are able and desirous to work may obtain that employment which is necessary for the support of themselves and of their families,—and that that unchristian and inhuman state of things, the source of so much discontent, bitterness, and, it may be, of the utter disorganization of our social system, may come to an end, that state of slavery, in which a number of our fellow-Christians and fellow-men are degraded into mere instruments for the enriching of a few, where the many are sacrificing their toil, their health, and their intellectual and moral well-being, to the greediness, the pomp, and luxury of the few; a state of things which, being sinful in itself, must in its turn produce sinful enterprises, and involves an infinite mass of disasters. To bear witness

against this state of things, on every proper occasion, with all caution, that we may not afford an encouragement for wanton tumults, and to strive that love and equity may become prevalent in all these relations, is a holy Christian duty. The fulfilment of it is now facilitated by our having such loud-preaching examples before us, that, *as it was won, so is it gone*; now that the Lord God is proclaiming so irrefragably, by the voice of facts, how perishable all earthly riches are, how that which seemed to stand unshakably will suddenly crumble, how the most enormous wealth may be changed in a moment into poverty and want, how wretched and miserable is he who has no other treasures than this worthless, unrighteous mammon. But, as it is right and our duty to speak out boldly on this side, so does it behove us on the other side.—The more the Evangelical Church, in the midst of this perturbed and needy generation, devotes itself to the welfare of the lower classes, trustingly, hopefully, lovingly, and tries to enter into their wants, the fairer prospects open themselves that Evangelical Christianity will become a power in the present and the future, and that the name of Her Head shall be glorified in this age.—How, in the most difficult circumstances, to which ours will hardly exhibit a parallel, the Evangelical Church, by the faithful, self-sacrificing activity of love, and by a wise adaptation to necessity, without compromise of conscience, may maintain herself, and acquire new power, has been set before us in the bright example of that man of God, Oberlin. This example would retain its force, even if the Evangelical Church were to be stript of all the dignity and influence which it possesses with the Christian State, or had to surrender them voluntarily in consequence of the State's abandoning the principles of Christianity.—If our Church is to act at present with that energy which is absolutely necessary, all appearance of her dependence on the State and the Government, of her being favoured and supported by political power must vanish: she must shew that, without all political aid, she has in herself the power to overcome the world, and thus to glorify the name of her Lord before the whole world. One might doubt and deem it questionable whether the Church ought of herself to take

any step for the abolition of her present relation, if the State continues to call itself and to act as a Christian State. But every scruple vanishes, when the State gives up its Christian character : and this it does, when it renders the enjoyment, not merely of civil, but also of political rights, wholly independent of every religious Confession, hereby declaring that even those who are not Christians, that Jews, nay, avowed atheists, are qualified for magisterial offices and functions, not excepting the highest, so that such a person may even become Minister of Public Worship. Such however is already our condition in several German states, among others in Prussia. Therefore is it necessary that we should hold ourselves ready betimes for a great decisive step, that we should maintain the honour of our Church with all determination, resolved for every sacrifice, however great it may be. We must assemble without delay, and consider the sacred wants of this age on all sides, that, with a clear consciousness of all the difficulties which beset us, and of the great work we have to perform, we may unite to establish the independence of our Church, in the way of order and legality, not with violence and defiance, but, as becomes the Evangelical Church, with all humility, calmness, and modesty, yet, for this very reason, with a firmness which cannot be seduced from its well-weighed resolutions by any earthly interest, by any lure or threat. We in the Rhenish provinces and in Westphalia, who already possess an ecclesiastical Constitution must lead the way, calling however immediately on all our brethren, in every Province of our narrower, and every State of our larger country, to act along with us, and seeking in union with them whether God will not give us His grace, so that a German Evangelical Church may be built up, even as we have begun politically to build up a united German nation. Let us beseech Him to pour out His spirit upon us and our people ; and let us use all diligence, that we may accomplish a good work, well-pleasing to Him, not with any reactionary aims, in opposition to our new political constitution, but only desiring from our position, with all love, truth, and devotedness, to help the princes and the people in gaining a permanent form for that which has any positive worth ;

so that, in this new order of things, that which is God's may be rendered to God, and Truth and Love may meet together, Righteousness and Peace may kiss each other. Let us proceed to work then in Jesus name. If He is with us, all will turn out well. To Him I commend our cause: it is also His. He is faithful and mighty over all. He will do it, and accomplish it."

These principles and views have not found expression merely in the writings of individuals, but in the proceedings and resolutions of several Conferences held by the leading members of the Church in the Rhenish provinces, lay as well as clerical. Should the Christian wisdom and meekness and faith, which have found utterance in the passages I have quoted from Kling and Dorner,—and I might add others from other writers animated by a kindred spirit,—be allowed to guide these councils, we might look forward with joyful, thankful hope to a time when our sister Church in Germany will rise out of her present humiliation in greater vigour and power than has ever yet been vouchsafed to her. At all events there is much in these extracts, from which we too, even now, may learn our own duty; and if we do so we shall be better prepared for meeting whatever dangers may await us. Moreover we too, if the Christian character of our Legislature is subverted by the admission of Jews, shall have to strive more urgently than we have ever yet done, to gain a properly constituted Ecclesiastical Synod.

"The State (says Dorner,—and his words would in that case apply to us) with which the Church has hitherto been so closely connected, no longer exists: a State of another character has occupied its place. Hence it can no longer be a question whether the Church shall continue in its present relation to the State. The State has already solved the question. By the same act, by which it made religious indifference its central principle, it also discarded the Christian Church from its heart. Discarded by the State as she is, she has no longer the power to regard what has been done as not done. Instead of wasting her strength in such idle fictions, she will descend to the condition of outward humiliation now assigned to her in comparison with her former eminence, but will seek,—and this is her privilege and her strength, and the honour still left.

to her,—with God's help to turn this calamity into a blessing. Let her therefore gather her powers together, being set free from all those complexities and entanglements, which her previous relation to the State has caused, not without a perturbation of her inward nature. Let her convert this dismissal by the State into a true freedom before God, in her dependence on her Head, Christ. Let her remember the Apostolical saying, *All things are yours*, and Luther's, *A Christian is a Lord of all things through faith*. But let her not forget, as she has too often done hitherto, the second part of our Reformer's precious Treatise concerning the Freedom of a Christian, that *The Christian is a servant of all things in love*; studying above all to preserve love toward the poor, and to kindle it to a more glowing heat toward those classes, who, through their moral and religious debasement, accusing us as the cause of it, have become the unhappy, involuntary instruments of God's judgement against us. Let her embrace the whole body of the nation, more than she has ever yet done, with her love and care, from that position which has been forced upon her, and for which she has to set herself in order."

NOTE Z: p. 64.

In some of these latter Notes, I have been illustrating the feelings and principles, which ought to regulate our conduct here in England in these times of trial, by shewing what the wisest men in Germany regard as the duty of the Church in a condition of far more terrible trial. I will add two more extracts of the same kind. The first shall be from the Preface to the new Volume of Nitzsches Sermons, where, after stating that he had preached at Berlin on the morning after the fatal night of the 18th of March before a very small congregation, but that, in doing so, he had rather prayed than preached, as became such an awful moment, he adds: "The time into which we have been plunged unawares, and which is compelling us, by the most painful strokes from the rod of a great Master and Teacher, to learn the alphabet of all civil and legal order anew, must needs call the preacher also to his work

His outward position may seem changed and periled. The flood of our political life, which has too long been repress, and here and there vainly staved back, and which now is rushing over us all the more vehemently, may soon spread over the Church and our Universities and their constitution. So long however as we have hearers,—and our Churches will rather grow fuller than emptier,—the essential groundwork of our efficiency will not be altered. There is nothing new, the Scripture says, under the sun. The word of God is not astonished by any of the things which have happened, and are daily happening. Very simple truths, which we have long misheard, will now, without our having any cause for one-sided complaints, or for merely desiring the restoration of times gone by, be confirmed and illustrated by these events, and will be received as they never were before, in those tempers of mind which they have produced. The mischievous cupidity of selfishness, under the name of zeal for the public, has almost deprived us of that oath-hallowed inviolable centre, which must needs exist and be acknowledged, if a large mass are to act together for a great end, and to have a secure starting-point and goal. It has almost deprived us of the religion of social love. For this we have all to do penance, even such as may be able to trace the course of that spirit of error, to which the Lord has given us up. We must point more than ever to that common enemy, who has not flesh and blood; and we must teach those who are called to the Kingdom of God, to put on and wield their true civic arms. For certain though it is that Providence will again shape this chaos into order, yet the work will still fail time after time in our hands, unless we seek in the fear of the Lord for the beginning of that wisdom, which looses and binds, which clears away and builds up. During this season of penitence and of the Passion, the tone of which must still predominate for a long time in our Sunday exercises, we may employ this evil time for unspeakable blessings; and they who proclaim the old and the new commandment, may go before all in that action and suffering which are requisite for carrying them into effect.”

I know not how I can close these Notes more appropriately than

with the conclusion of Dorner's admirable Pamphlet. After unfolding his plan for the convocation of a general Synod of the German Evangelical Church, in such a manner as might be consistent with the established forms of their Ecclesiastical Law, with a view to the consolidation of the various Provincial Churches, whether holding the Lutheran or the Reformed Confession, into a United German Church, he says: "If this plan, which would secure the rights of evangelical freedom in a legal manner, with a faithful adherence to that which is already established, cannot be adopted, or if there be an unwillingness to follow it, then, for the moment, I see nothing else than the necessity of our acting for ourselves, with all the dangers, though transient ones, of anarchy and confusion. But I do not fear this. On the contrary I hope in God that our German princes, especially the Evangelical ones, will know how to act greatly in this great and solemn time in which we live. The ancestors of many of these princes took a glorious part in the Reformation in the sixteenth century. The illustrious descendants of these ancestors will be in their stead, when we are carrying out the second act of the Reformation, the Constitution of the United Evangelical Church. And as their noble ancestors did not ask, what shall we gain by affording protection and help to the Gospel? but, in a pure, princely spirit, did what was good and right, so their sons will not ask, what increase of power and dignity shall we obtain if we help in establishing the independence of the Evangelical Church, and in building up a United Evangelical German National Church? but will seek and find their reward in this good and great work itself, and in the thanks of posterity, who will bless their names, and rank them with their glorious ancestors of the age of the Reformation, still living in the hearts and mouths of all men.

"Are such thoughts of too lofty a flight? Is the hope too bold, of having a German National Church faithful to the Gospel? O, I know well in what a glaring contrast to this the real condition of Evangelical Christianity in Germany stands, and that too, not so much by reason of her sufferings, as of her guilt. Nor will I take my place among those, who, hovering to and fro between

fear and levity, would turn away their eyes from this guilt to new visions of imaginary dignity and glory. But while I do not conceal the hard struggles from myself, which we shall at all events have to wage, and which, I believe, are near, yet I also know that out of that true mourning, which now especially befits every Christian congregation or synod, new life and new joy may spring up, through Him who can heal our wounds and take away our sins. I hope that the hearts-blood of the humble and brave, the free and faithful Evangelical Church is still beating, through God's grace, in the veins of many. Therefore have I ventured to take up my word. The best of what I had to say has long been lying in many a faithful evangelical spirit, and has even been uttered in part years ago by better men than I am. It seemed necessary to me however, that it should now be uttered again, and in a more urgent tone, since our need has meanwhile become more urgent, and many a noble evangelical mind is in want of the consolation and encouragement arising from some distinct prospect of hope, as an object to be aimed at. Many too are raised above themselves by great times and enterprises, and are taught to think more magnanimously. On the heights a purer air breathes, free from that party turbulence which has almost brought our Church into an anarchy like that of the Corinthian. O that many would mount into this clearer region, leaving behind what comes from below, and entering with a pure spirit upon the sacred virgin ground of these heights, to devote themselves here to the work of this new time, for God's sake, as a service to God! May we all receive a consecration for this great new age, the baptism from above with the spirit of humility and of courage, of love and of knowledge! Then may the days perhaps come, when the Evangelical Church, looking back on her present hours of distress, will say, *Thou hast shewn me great and sore troubles; but thou hast quickened me again and brought me up from the depths of the earth. We went upon the sea, and saw the works of the Lord. He commanded and raised the stormy wind which lifted up the waves, so that we mounted up to the heaven, and went down again to the depths, and our soul was melted because of trouble. We reeled to and fro, and staggered like*

a drunken man, and were at our wit's end. But, when we cried to the Lord in our trouble, He brought us out of our distresses, and made the storm a calm, so that the waves were still. Then were we glad because they were quiet; and He brought us to our desired haven. Therefore will we praise the Lord for His goodness, and for His wonderful works to the children of men. We will exalt Him in the congregation of the people, and praise Him in the assembly of the elders.—

“But, whatever may be appointed for us, we believe in the Holy Ghost, who broods over the waters of chaos, in a holy Christian Church, and a Communion of Saints, which will maintain its visible existence upon earth in an evangelical form also, and in the German nation. We believe in the living Lord and King of the Church, Jesus Christ, who can still the waves; and in the Father who has promised to the Son that He shall reign till all enemies are put under His feet. So then may the Triune God establish thee, thou beloved Evangelical Church, as a whole, and in all thy members, inwardly and outwardly! May He help us to accomplish the second act of the Reformation, by constituting the general Evangelical Church, so that thou mayest continue in the unity of faith and the power of the Spirit, what thou oughtest to be, the vanguard of Christianity upon earth. Spread out thine arms toward all thy brethren, who seem to be faithless toward thee, if so be thou mayest even now win them in the battle of love. But continue to be thyself; continue true to thyself. Seek no show of unity without the substance, without the hereditary treasures of the Evangelical Church.”

Dorner calls on his friends Nitzsch and Müller, to whom his Pamphlet is address, to say Amen to the prayer. Assuredly in England also there are hearts that will join fervently in that Amen.

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